

CYPRUS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY  
FACULTY OF COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA STUDIES



## **Doctoral Dissertation**

PLACE ATTACHMENT THROUGH  
EVERYDAY SOUND

THE CASE OF DIVIDED NICOSIA

Yiannis Christidis

Limassol 2016



CYPRUS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY  
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STUDIES

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**APPROVAL FORM**

Doctoral Dissertation

**Place Attachment through Everyday Sound:  
The Case of Divided Nicosia**

Presented by

Yiannis Christidis

Supervisor: Assistant Professor Angeliki Gazi, Department of Communication and Internet Studies, Cyprus University of Technology

Member of the committee (President): Professor Nicolas Christakis, Department of Communication and Media Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Member of the committee: Associate Professor Anastasia Georgaki, Faculty of Music Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Member of the committee: Assistant Professor Angeliki Gazi, Department of Communication and Internet Studies, Cyprus University of Technology

Cyprus University of Technology

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## **Abstract**

Studying soundscapes can provide an understanding of the relations within an acoustic community that is situated in a defined area, and also can allow correlations to the properties of place itself. This PhD study commences from the field of acoustic communication, where soundmarks are seen as the sonic events that are part of a soundscape: they are of distinctive importance and are able to define an acoustic community. In such a context, the experience-oriented theory of sound in its core is considered, so as to approach the special case study of the divided city centre of Nicosia.

The inhabitants of the centre of Nicosia – producers and listeners of the soundscape – mostly belong to the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities. The northern part, the buffer zone itself and the southern part of its city centre define aural areas/soundscapes, characterised by sonic events of significant meaning for the acoustic community that lives there. By investigating the religious soundmarks with the use of soundwalks and ethnographic interviews as methodological tools, the PhD study comments on their effect as far as the place attachment of the inhabitants is concerned, by presenting, at the same time, their attitude towards them. By taking into account the aforementioned aspects, the investigation concerns the place attachment of both communities (Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot) through the Muslim and the Orthodox call to prayer, via the sound of the church bells and the voice of the imam, respectively. In a wider level, the study explores, how such soundscapes acquire meaning by the inhabitants of Nicosia and how these meanings influence the bond of the inhabitants with their place, by using the religious soundmarks as a guide. At the same time, such sounds can travel across the borders of the city, signifying [the formation of] one acoustic community with common characteristics - habituating in a conceptual acoustic place.

### **Related Publications**

Christidis, Y., Quinton M., (2016), Exploring the Urban Mediterranean Soundscapes in Cyprus and Malta: A comparative study, *Interference*, 5, 103-120.

Gazi, A., Rizopoulos, Ch., Christidis, Y., (2016), Localizing emotions: Soundscape representations through Smartphone Use, *Psychology*, 22 (4) (forthcoming)

Christidis, Y. (2015). Listening to the Place of Cyprus: The everyday acoustic experience in an intercultural island. *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences* , 3 (9), 84-90.

Christidis, Y. (2014). Soundmarks in Place: the Case of the Divided City Centre of Nicosia. *Invisible Places* (pp. 392-402). Viseu: Jardins Efêmeros.

### **Related Achievements**

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### **Related Exhibitions**

Christidis, Y. (2012). A sound-block.ed would not resonate. Sound Composition in 'Through the Roadblocks: realities in raw motion'. Limassol, Cyprus.

## INTRODUCTION

A sound resonates in a place; listeners pay attention to its details, its characteristics, its meaning or any 'noisy' characteristics which may cause disturbance. The level and the nature of the reaction of the listener, however, appears to be dependant on a variety of factors. Cultural, religious, ethnic or even age-related pieces of our identity seem to influence the way we respond to everyday sound each time. The space, however, where the listening takes place is a vital factor, as it constitutes the environment where the interaction between the listener and the sound takes place: we, listeners define ourselves in space individually, biologically and socially (Tuan Y.-F. , 1974, p. 245). The experience of place is stressed by Tuan: '*With hearing, and particularly with seeing, we seem to be actively exploring the world beyond us and getting to know it objectively*' (1975, p. 152). Why do we listen to our sonic environment the way we do? '*A sound is made by some "thing" and it is often important or useful that we know what that "thing" is and where it is*' (Styles, 2006, p. 120). It is this awareness which triggers several discussions in the PhD study you are about to read.

The thesis reviews the theoretical background regarding sound studies and traces its particular parts which connect soundscape ecology with the term place, and the human experience. These experience-related approaches regarding sound, take advantage from the definition and description of space regarding such sound-oriented aspects, to move inductively and discuss the notion of place. Sound, space and place with regards to the human experience are continuously explored and appear frequently during the implementation of the research. Sounds' intense presence in space, the place's accordance with space and the sound's existence and significance in this particular space called 'place' are matters which are also explored throughout the thesis. Such concepts appear in an everyday basis interconnecting with each other and at a second glance they seem to be related, and also capable of raising several questions. Before delving into the practical exploration of such questions, the theory of place attachment is connected with the aforementioned discussion, according to which, the physical and social bonds of human in place appear helpful in describing it; the ground offered to study the connection between place attachment and sound seems worth exploring. Also, with a reference to the human auditory experience,

these bonds finally prove to be able to describe the interaction between sound and human in the space.

After analysing and connecting the three main thematic fields of the research, which are sound, space and a human-oriented auditory experience, the main issues are directly formed:

How are soundmarks (re)defined by people? Regarding the (re)definition of the soundmarks as these are important sounds specially regarded by community members (Schafer R. M., 1977), so far, it is shown that the term, after having been used by acoustic ecology, can acquire complex characteristics, that not only are culture-related and define acoustic communities, but can also question geographical territories. It is considerably important, that as sound has the ability to travel through borders, the soundmarks' theoretical and practical expansion could also create an acoustic community regardless of the visual restrictions in space. And finally, a point where all these matters can end up would ask: how do people connect with the place through the existence of sound, and how do they give meaning to the acoustic elements of their sonic environment?

It is within the purpose of this study to investigate the role of the acoustic community today, and its relation to the soundmarks, or to sounds that may be considered as soundmarks. There has been a lot of discussion about the main role of the sound in a spatial context, but what happens when this context acquires characteristics of 'place'?

In Nicosia, Cyprus, the last divided European Capital, certain sounds travel from the one side to the other. The soundscape of the divided city center is rich, both sonically and culturally, and its resonances create a constant vibrant composition of sounds and meanings. An extensive description regarding its variety and complexity is necessarily made, in an effort to supply the reader with the sound events taking place in the area. In a next level, the identification of their inhabitants and their place attachment is deeply investigated, using qualitative interviewing.

#### *aims*

The overarching aim of this thesis is to shed light to the connections between place and sound, with a particular focus on the experience of the listener. Studies in the past (Schafer M. , The Soundscape. Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World, 1977) have shown and established that sound plays an important role in the communication between the individual and his/her sonic environment. The

interconnections which evolve within this context, involving the term place are being explored till recently (Wissman, 2014), in a process of ‘*deep involvement with particular social, cultural and environmental contexts and careful thought about what needs to be said...*’ (Truax, 2012). It appears, though, that there is space for investigation regarding the relations of the inhabitants of a place with its sounds, as all these form parts of the place.

*structure*

The thesis is organized in two major parts, each of which contains a number of chapters which facilitate the smooth organization and implementation of the study: the first chapter includes the theoretical background, where the literature review takes place, and crucial issues pointing to the core of the study are discussed. Also, in this part, the background of the case study area is extensively discussed. Then, the case of Nicosia, where the research takes place is presented - the research questions are formed, and the methodological considerations are debated; at this point, the precise steps addressing to them are designed and organised. Before heading to the next step, the pilot study is presented, the research design shapes its final form, and the research conduction takes place: the necessary steps are realised and what has been planned is practiced in the area of interest. The process of soundwalking and in-depth interviews which take place in the concept of this study are explained, just before the second part. Here, the analysis of the research is introduced, presenting the findings: the correspondences of the participants’ point towards the research questions, and the analysis of their words is organized according to what the study is investigating. The relevant categories evolve, and after their explanation, the thesis reaches to its final part of the conclusions and discussion.

More precisely:

In chapter 1 the discussion around sound, space and human is developed. After exploring the notion of Acoustic Space from its beginning, the field of Sound Studies is overviewed. The notion of Acoustic communication is introduced and the concept of Acoustic Ecology is presented. Then, a focus on the meaning of Acoustic Community is made, before the discussion on Acoustic Boundaries. The analysis of the epistemology of the Sonic Experience brings the chapter to an end, introducing themes and doubts pushing elements of the study to over cross the borders of Acoustic Ecology.

In chapter 2, the case of the divided city centre of Nicosia is presented. More precisely, the ethnographic background is introduced, and the necessary elements for the study to advance are presented; such elements not only regard geographical or cultural data, but also sound-oriented information, which later on facilitate the research. The parameters which trigger a listener's interest are also explored in this chapter.

Chapter 3 deals with the methodological considerations of the PhD study. Concisely, it overviews the tools that are used throughout this dissertation, and provides a background of each of them so that the combinations which are later followed are comprehended by the reader. At this stage, the first approach to the area is presented: the pilot study explores the methods which were previously analyzed, and ends up to the presentation of the exact research design.

The research conduction is presented in chapter 4. The way the area is approached and the citation of useful details regarding the research questions are evolved in this chapter. This is also where the reader acquires a complete view of the empirical listening to the case and recognizes the research challenges of the specific area. The chapter is divided in two major categories, the 'listening and soundwalking' and the 'in-depth interviews' respectively.

Chapter 5 is where the analysis of the research conduction is unfolded. This chapter is organized according to the categories which evolved from the data gathered from the interviews and describes the information acquired in detail, so that answers to the research questions and to the matters related to them are given.

Chapter 6 includes the research results and the discussion on them. The results are presented with regards to the analysis which has taken place, and the discussion generated from them intends to conclude with the response to the research questions, creating space for further research.

The contribution of the research on the academic field of Sound Studies, but also to the local community, have naturally influenced the approach to the case study: from the theoretical background, to the shaping of the research questions, the methods used to explore them and the final conclusions, the research intended to adjust to the facts without losing its academic integrity. What is considered important and is worth mentioning introducing the research, is that its main intention has been to contribute to the wider field of Sound Studies creating new challenges, rather than to acquire a political position over the matters revealed.



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# **1 The discussion around Sound, Space and Human**

## **1.1 Introduction**

The constant academic debates around sound and space, and the interaction between what these terms represent, have generated the theoretical space to establish the wide theoretical framework of the present research. Even more, the position of the human auditory experience in the centre of such discussions provides the ground to analyse aspects of such debates, and narrow them down to the exact academic field where the research is set and realised. Before discussing and extending this wide theoretical framework, it is necessary to focus on the relevant area of the contemporary academic field by presenting the basic notions and their features, some of which are used throughout this study. In order to approach a subject at the core of which lies the discussion of the components of the human experience in relation to the concepts of sound and space, and to be able to delve into the complexity of the interrelations between these terms, an initial overview of the field of sound studies is made, focusing on the relevant terminologies. The theoretical background focuses on the creation and development of the field of acoustic communication and its evolution, followed by a discussion on the definition of the term ‘acoustic community’. Afterwards, this chapter shall present and discuss the role of space and place in Sound Studies, with an emphasis on the role of sound in place attachment, before expanding the debate on the boundaries and their forms based on sound elements. Finally, the epistemology of the sonic experience is explored and developed under a prism that goes beyond acoustic communication, and this first part shall conclude by discussing these correlations, using the experience of the human-listener as a reference point.

## **1.2 Sound Studies in Communication: The Evolution of Acoustic Space**

It is deemed essential to overview the existing theories regarding sound, especially as far as space is concerned, as these two factors influence the present study. The research makes use of components which are applied in the wider field of Sound Studies, as well as elements from the rich variety of the terminology developed in this field. To investigate matters which are related to what we hear and justify what the present thesis negotiates, that is, our role as listeners of our sonic environment, it is

necessary to firstly refer to the existing bibliographical reports in this field. However, before commencing such a review, it is crucial to stress the dominance of the visual culture on sound: Despite the introduction of ‘Acoustic Space’ in MacLuhan’s significant work in the 1960’s (1964), it took some decades for academics to raise sound’s importance in the academic field of communication and establish Sound Studies as an autonomous field, which is, nevertheless, embeddable to other areas of study. The visual dominance encourages the attitude that ‘*our society is characterized by a cancerous growth of vision*’ (de Certeau, 1988, p. xxi) where the concepts around sound should be given more attention. In his work of outlining procedures of unconscious ordinariness in an everyday context, de Certeau served as a scholar who developed the concept of everyday life, assigning to it certain characteristics related to its rhythms, and, thus, attributing to it a pattern-related identity. In relation to this dominance of vision, Rodaway, in his important analysis of the sensory human experience of place, notes: ‘*We must not overemphasise the visualism of our language nor underestimate our reliance on the ears*’ (1994, p. 83).

Sound Studies is an academic area which integrates comprehensively a variety of approaches: from scientific research to artistic productions or experiential explorations. Although recently introduced, it soon gained power in the evolving field of communication. To fully define the existing ground where the research takes place, a brief overview of the main thematic fields shaping contemporary Sound Studies is needed. During the last years, significant collections of key texts in this field were published and would shape a synopsis of contemporary views regarding the wide field of Sound Studies, without, however, undermining the main introducers of sound to the academic discussion: namely, Sterne’s last work (*The Sound Studies Reader*, 2012) and Cox & Warner’s collection of articles (*Audio Culture Readings in Modern Music*, 2009). Indeed, this area encompasses numerous topics and its multidisciplinary character allows for a potential development of a wide range of scientific fields with the use of its embedded elements.

Sound Culture, Sound Anthropology or Acoustic Ecology are some of the academic aspects included in the broad definition of Sound Studies and can be used to approach subjects which acquire multidimensional aspects. Indeed, academics like Attali (1985) and Ihde (1976) have extensively discussed the cultural dimension of sound and its interiority in the past. McLuhan (1964) had examined sound and the media in depth, while Schafer (1977), Truax (1984) and Westerkamp (*Listening and Soundmaking: A*

Study of Music-as-Environment, 1988) have, on the other hand, approached the acoustic communicational and ecological dimension of sound, leading the research around what they introduced as 'soundscape', a concept widely used further on.

The need to connect the listening procedure with other dimensions than merely that of attending and perceiving sounds is expressed by American philosopher Don Idhe in the mid-seventies (1976, pp. 49-55): By revealing more cognitive processes and using the example of 'mute' objects that lose their specific properties when moving or entering resonating spaces, he places audibility next to visibility and raises its importance and significance on the way to shape and define the auditory experience. In relation to the wider field of Sound Studies, he indicates that they allow '*...sound to be measured, and measurement is predominantly a matter of spatializing qualities into visible quantities. But in ordinary experience there is often thought to be a similar role for sound. Sounds are frequently thought of as anticipatory clues for ultimate visual fulfilments. The most ordinary of such occurrences are noted in locating unseen entities*' (1976, p. 54). However, no matter whether objects are unseen or visually obvious, Idhe insists on two important dimensions relative to the auditory experience, which Sound Studies have embraced: temporality and spatiality (1976, pp. 57-59). From the field of Philosophy, as proven, to History and Media Studies, the equivalence between the visual and the aural world is very often used to describe properties of the auditory experience. More recently, the importance of the recorded or live nature of sound was underlined in connection to facts of the past: '*We are told by cultural critics and historians that modernity has been marked by a supreme victory of the visual over the aural in the hierarchy of the senses, but to people between 1870 and the First World War, the most amazing new elements in modern society were keenly aural in their impact and influence: the player piano, the gramophone, the telephone, the radio, the subway train...*' (Schwartz, 2003, p. 491). In Sound Studies, the audio/visual comparison has constituted the centre of many of its aspects. Marshall McLuhan (1964) compared between visual and acoustic space, and studied both categories as mediatised environments, offering a new dimension to Media Studies. Another newly introduced discourse was the one by structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1976), who referred to sound using senses, myths, liminality and codification: his work suggested, amongst other theories, that meaning is given to myths through structural processes, units of which contain sound units. Three years earlier Raymond M. Schafer (1973) had described 'soundscape' as

a term corresponding to how word landscape was used and discussed urban space in terms of sound for the first time, which would be more thoroughly analysed later. Historian Alain Corbin (1994) discussed the auditory marker in social space describing sound and meaning, and pointed out the complexity and the power of a symbolic sound, such as that of the church bell. Composer Michel Chion (1998), a French theorist of audio-visual relationships, studied extensively tone and audio composition in films: his established work and the notion of the modes of listening (1994, pp. 25-35) regarding sound on image constituted one of the inspirations of Sound Studies as far as image and sound are concerned. The terms ‘synced’ or ‘diegetic’ sound were introduced and came to form a scientific field within Sound Studies, which, however, combined aspects of film studies or other more picture-oriented fields. More recently, Mark M. Smith (2001) discussed auditory memory and practices of remembrance, while Jonathan Sterne (2003) argued about the relation between sound reproduction and media technology. Augoyard and Torgue (2005), in a debate discussing the process of describing the sonic experience, created a new field of study, codifying the use of sonic effects in the case of everyday life sounds. Their work focuses on the occurrences which form a listener’s experience rather than on the process of listening itself. Jean-Luc Nancy (2007) has extensively talked about the relation between sound, music and our body and the senses using a more philosophical way of thinking.

It is evident that Sound Studies include interdisciplinary works, and are, thus, developed in various fields. Marshall McLuhan is considered to be one of the founders of early ‘Sound Studies’ and, in an effort to describe this field, it is considered reasonable to refer to his work at the beginning of this chapter. Thus, his notions regarding sound are outlined below, and then discussed in relation to the study.

### **1.2.1 Sound in the Primary Media - the ‘hot’ Sound**

Marshall McLuhan was the academic who importantly categorised media into ‘hot’ and ‘cool’, using the number of informational elements contained in their messages as what he defined the ‘temperature’: The more information contained in the media (and consequently, the message), the hotter the medium is, and the more they absorb our attention, without necessarily allowing for our participation. In line with this claim, the radio results hotter than the telephone, speech is colder than written text and a

movie is hotter than a TV-show. Our western civilisation is also characterised as hot, which is justified when compared to tribal civilisations. In this context, the act of participation in this theory also involved significantly: The hotter the medium is, the less the receiver participates, and, in the last case, the western civilisation is formed by communities that are characterised by little participation.

More specifically, as stated in 'Essential McLuhan', *'McLuhan's famous distinction between "hot" and "cool" media referred to the different sensory effects associated with media of higher or lower definition. "Hot" media (radio, photography, cinema) are more full of information and allow less involvement of the user; "cool" media (telephone, cartoons, television) are less full of information and allow much greater sensory participation by the user'* (Eric McLuhan, 1997, p. 2). However, prior to describing McLuhan's thoughts about sound as a medium, it is important to look at how he used the term 'sensation' to justify his considerations. Besides, sensation is essential for the construction of an experience, and what forms the aural experience is extensively discussed in this research.

McLuhan outlined the importance of sound referring to it as a means of communication, mainly focusing on its function in spoken language and the Media. His work redefined the term 'Media', and using 'print' and 'electronic' categories to describe them, he essentially proposed the placement of sound in its actual, distinct dimensions, reasonably raising its importance. In 'Understanding Media - The extensions of man', McLuhan studied the commands of the two great movements that brought major changes to the way politics and aesthetic order had worked so far: the first one was the moveable type, while the second one was electricity and its new applications. These movements changed the way people perceived information: therefore the Media landscape was inevitably altered. But as it seems, not only does his theory apply to the Media, which constituted his focal point, but it also may seem reasonable when applied to the way people interact with their primary environment.

### **1.2.2 Sensation & Connection with Sound**

McLuhan described the definitions and thoughts about sensations in connection with the Media. However, with a thorough and comparative study involving more contemporary academics, it appears that many important elements of his theory are applied in everyday life. It is worth approaching sensation as a trespass level from the Media, given that McLuhan already described the Media as the extensions of our

nervous system. The following example cited in McLuhan's work, facilitates the understanding of the importance of the use of (the power of) sound as a sensation, in an everyday life activity: *'Battle shock created by violent noise has been adapted for dental use in the device known as audiac. The patient puts on headphones and turns a dial raising the noise level to the point that he feels no pain from the drill. The selection of a single sense for intense stimulus, or of a single extended, isolated, or "amputated" sense in technology, is in part the reason for the numbing effect that technology as such has on its makers and users. For the central nervous system rallies a response of general numbness to the challenge of specialized irritation. The person who falls suddenly experiences immunity to all pain or sensory stimuli because the central nervous system has to be protected from any intense thrust of sensation. Only gradually does he regain normal sensitivity to sights and sounds, at which time he may begin to tremble and perspire and to react as he would have done if the central nervous system had been prepared in advance for the fall that occurred unexpectedly'* (McLuhan, *Understanding Media, The Extensions of Man*, 1964, p. 44). In this example, the power of sound and its direct association with other senses is prominent. The exposure to dynamic sound results into creating an 'immunity' to the subject of other senses. McLuhan's theories appear to be applicable even today, 50 years later, now that people are being bombarded with information coming from different directions and sources, for various reasons, all at the same time and in a pre-defined structure. It appears, however, that the nature of this information is not as important as the frequency of this 'bombardment' and its effects, as messages appear to lose their variations, while the sense of sound becomes the main concern. Sound was and still is the means through which messages from people's voices are transmitted; however, their content may come second to the intensity of the medium which lies in the foreground.

### **1.2.3 Speech and Orality**

Sound also forms the basis of oral tradition and oral communication. A unit of speech, the key element of the oral culture, is transferred from the sender/speaker to the receiver/listener through sound.

Primarily, it is the language we speak that makes our thoughts known and extendable to the listener, not only in everyday communication but in the Media too. Speech is, thus, the way our senses are extended, as McLuhan indicates in 'Understanding

Media'. The sound of the human voice is the primary medium of oral communication. *'The spoken word was the first technology by which man was able to let go of his environment in order to grasp it in a new way. Words are a kind of information retrieval that can range over the total environment and experience at high speed. Words are complex systems of metaphors and symbols that translate experience into our uttered or outered senses. They are a technology of explicitness. By means of translation of immediate sense experience into vocal symbols the entire world can be evoked and retrieved at any instant'* (McLuhan, 1964, p. 57).

It is important to consider McLuhan's words as an analysis referring to the translation of the experience and the multimodal way of communication occurring when the process of speaking-listening takes place. The inclusion of the sensorial patterns in this very introductory appreciation of sound occurrence is crucial. *'If the human ear can be compared to a radio receiver that is able to decode electromagnetic waves and recode them as sound, the human voice may be compared to the radio transmitter in being able to translate sound into electromagnetic waves. The power of the voice to shape air and space into verbal patterns may well have been preceded by a less specialized expression of cries, grunts, gestures, and commands, of song and dance. The patterns of the senses that are extended in the various languages of men are as varied as styles of dress and art. Each mother tongue teaches its users a way of seeing and feeling the world, and of acting in the world, that is quite unique'* (1964, p. 80). In other words, McLuhan emphasises the connection of the power of the voice, through sound, to the world: The importance of sound, as raised in the current research, is arguably proven, even if the context of McLuhan's initial analysis refers to speech. In the context of the crucial debate about the power of sound, Attali's main contribution allowed for further investigations and interconnections in the field of music (1985).

Walter Ong was another significant scholar who also thoroughly discussed the power of oral sound, before the establishment of the field of sound studies. He indicated oral speech as the basis for the formation of the human society, thus focusing on the importance of sound, especially in relation to sensation, a term that Marshall McLuhan had previously analyzed. As Ong had noted, *'To learn what a primary oral culture is and what the nature of our problem is regarding such a culture, it helps first to reflect on the nature of sound itself as sound* (Ong W. , 1967, pp. 111-138). *All sensation takes place in time, but sound has a special relationship to time unlike that*

*of the other fields that register in human sensation. ... It is not simply perishable but essentially evanescent, and it is sensed as evanescent. When I pronounce the word 'permanence', by the time I get to the '-nence', the 'perma-' is gone, and has to be gone'* (Ong W. J., 1982, p. 31). Ong also gave importance to the very detail of sound, by emphasising the source and the effect of sound production: *'Sounds all register the interior structures of whatever it is that produces them. A violin filled with concrete will not sound like a normal violin. A saxophone sounds differently from a flute: it is structured differently inside. And above all, the human voice comes from inside the human organism which provides the voice's resonances'* (Ong W. J., 1982, p. 70). Here, the main focus of Ong's work regarding sound refers to the complexity of its interiority and how, at the same time, this is expressed in the human voice: this current correlation becomes clearer when the dimension of time enters these functions. The relation of sound to time is tight, thus it is important to examine them together. One could argue that when there is time, there is sound. In relation to this point, Ong discussed on the interiority of sound and time attributes: *'In treating some psychodynamics of orality, we have thus far attended chiefly to one characteristic of sound itself, its evanescence, its relationship to time. Sound exists only when it is going out of existence. Other characteristics of sound also determine or influence oral psychodynamics. The principal one of these other characteristics is the unique relations of sound to interiority when sound is compared to the rest of the senses. This relation is important because of the interiority of human consciousness and of human communication itself'* (Ong W. J., 1982, p. 69). In this respect, the interiority of sound and its direct dynamic relation with time is raised, which is crucial for the sound's evolution in communication, especially as far as the human senses are concerned. With regards to the robust correlation between time and sensation, Ong also commented on the importance of silence during the absence of sound: *'If I stop the movement of sound, I have nothing—only silence, no sound at all. All sensation takes place in time, but no other sensory field totally resists a holding action, stabilization, in quite this way'* (1982, p. 31). He also indicated that *'Homo sapiens has been in existence for between 30,000 and 50,000 years. The earliest script dates from only 6000 years ago'* (1982, p. 2). The historical value of the power and importance of sound is also proven by this example. In addition, commenting on the necessity of the parallel existence of power and sound, Ong gives the example of the buffalo: *'A hunter can see a buffalo, smell, taste, and touch a buffalo when the buffalo is*

*completely inert, even dead, but if he hears a buffalo, he had better watch out: something is going on. In this sense, all sound, and especially oral utterance, which comes from inside living organisms, is 'dynamic'. (Ong W. J., 1982, p. 32)*

It is evident that orality and writing have constituted the focus area of Ong's work: how humanity moved from the 'primitive' form of communication to a more intellectual one, how print was accepted and what were/are the dynamics among these forms of communication. His work also involves thoughts and comments about the '*electronic processing of the word and of thought, as on radio and television via satellite*' (Ong W. J., 1982, p. 8). More importantly, it was Ong who talked about the metamorphosis of sound to text, or to a shaped image, discussing the passing from the oral to the written culture. Supporting McLuhan and his fundamental quote 'the medium is the message', he raised the '*importance of the shift from orality through literacy and print to electronic media*' (Ong W. J., 1982, p. 29). The general field of electronic media constituted the commencement of 'acoustic space'.

It is fundamental to review the work of the first academics who analysed 'acoustic space' and prepared part of the ground for the Sound Studies area, before focusing on the main theoretical argument. The conditions under which the notion of 'acoustic space' and the importance of sound as a sense were raised, used to facilitate the world of image, moving image and radio, allowed for the establishment of an innovative academic field. The essence and structure of everyday sound might have not been thought-provoking at that point yet, but McLuhan and Ong have, without a doubt, contributed significantly to the generation and evolution of the area of Sound Studies. Some main elements of this multidisciplinary field are outlined in the lines below.

Sterne notes that '*sound studies is a name for the interdisciplinary ferment in the human sciences that takes sound as its analytical point of departure or arrival. By analyzing both sonic practices and the discourses and institutions that describe them, it redescribes what sound does in the human world, and what humans do in the sonic world. ... It reaches across registers, moments and spaces, and it thinks across disciplines and traditions, some that have long considered sound, and some that have not done so until more recently. Sound studies is academic, but it can also move beyond the university. It can begin from obviously sonic phenomena like speech, hearing, sound technologies, architecture, art, or music. But it does not have to*' (2012, p. 2). It is encouraging to look into such a field which gives researchers the opportunity to question strict academic rules and use other disciplines, artistic or

experiential to approach a case study. As the sound environment is constantly changing and academic fields intertwine over time in a multidisciplinary environment, Sound Studies become more so. The subjectivity expressed in relation to an issue may maintain its character as Sound Studies appear to form a field where justifications can be recalled from various disciplines: *'sound studies today is certainly an intellectual reaction to changes in culture and technology, just as earlier modalities of sonic thought were. But it is also a product of changes in thought and the organization of the disciplines'* (Sterne, 2012, p. 3).

Sounds are not autonomous, they are produced by humans, animals, objects or the nature itself – in any case, the existence of both action and atmosphere is crucial for a sound occurrence to happen. Sounds also have receivers: us, the listeners. The environment where such action - interaction takes place is considered fundamental for the deep understanding of what sounds represent in individuals' minds. Thus, it is crucial not to ignore the context and isolate the sound when studying it. Sound Studies is exactly the field which examines these aspects. In a wider sense, their *'...challenge is to think across sounds, to consider sonic phenomena in relationship to one another—as types of sonic phenomena rather than as things-in-themselves—whether they be music, voices, listening, media, buildings, performances, or another other path into sonic life'* (Sterne, 2012, p. 3). An indirect reference to McLuhan's overviewed sensation might be made in this case, as sonic phenomena are those which form the basis of the listening experience.

#### **1.2.4 Acoustic Space**

The resonance of sound in a certain acoustic space might concern more than one individual: while reading is a lonely procedure, speech is based on collective processes. When someone becomes a reader instead of a listener, s/he restricts himself/herself to loneliness during the procedure. It was the invention of electricity that made all these changes and reconsiderations possible towards the media. Besides, it was also the evolution of electrical power and its applications to the environment in general, that lead the academic community to study in detail its influences on the sound environment. The importance of recorded speech and sound still generates discussions. Marshal McLuhan was also the first academic to use the term 'acoustic space' to describe the area where the process of listening takes place and analyse the

role of sound<sup>1</sup> in media – so, to a certain extent, in everyday life. As he had given a definite importance to the medium with the use of the term ‘acoustic space’, it is worth reflecting on the elements of a part of his work that was sound-oriented. At this stage, the importance of the term should be clarified, while underlining the time and frame it was firstly used in, since in later stages it evolved dramatically.

The ‘be’ instead of ‘location’ feature of sound was firstly stressed in 1960 by Carpenter and McLuhan, when the underestimated importance and variability of the newly coined ‘acoustic space’ was emphasised. (Carpenter & McLuhan, 1960). Given its special multimodal meaning in the contemporary communication field, during this period, it used to describe a media-oriented area, where sound used to take place. In his works, McLuhan notes in relation to sound: *‘The ear favors no particular "point of view." We are enveloped by sound. It forms a seamless web around us. We say, "Music shall fill the air." We never say, "Music shall fill a particular segment of the air.”’* focusing on a united entity of the area where sound takes place (McLuhan, 1967, p. 112). This quote paints a first picture of how the ‘acoustic space’ was defined and characterised in that era. As stated, the air as a concrete space is the receiver of music and its wholeness is what helps us receive the sound signals. Therefore, such attributes provide it with its ‘acoustic’ feature.

McLuhan was also the first to discuss acoustic space and its ability to engage multiple senses in a concrete time fragment. Its main feature results to be the ‘whole’, a total of information and interactions that is perceived as one, by all senses. This is the reason why oral cultures were stating their vital presence in the acoustic space, as speech was used as the method to communicate. *‘Until writing was invented, man lived in acoustic space: boundless, directionless, horizonless, in the dark of the mind, in the world of emotion, by primordial intuition, by terror. Speech is a social chart of this bog. The goose quill put an end to talk. It abolished mystery; it gave architecture and towns; it brought roads and armies, bureaucracy. It was the basic metaphor with which the cycle of civilization began, the step from the dark into the light of the mind. The hand that filled the parchment page built a city’* (McLuhan, 1967, p. 48). The

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<sup>1</sup> At this point, the following statement needs to be made: McLuhan used to refer to sound as not only having to do with his voice, but also the media (telephone, Radio, TV, Movies) in his mind. This implies the questions of research during his era and the sound-related issues that were ‘hot’ at the time. However, this does not only fails to prevent the present research from using his important theories in a more contemporary context, but also encourages the debate about the other uses of sound in everyday activities.

multimodality and global transgressive features of the acoustic space are extensively discussed and investigated in this research, as these characteristics define the term and allow for multidisciplinary approaches and works.

In relation to the ‘wholeness’ and the flowing character of sound and the acoustic space, he notes: *‘We hear sounds from everywhere, without ever having to focus. Sounds come from "above," from "below," from in "front" of us, from "behind" us, from our "right," from our "left." We can't shut out sound automatically. We simply are not equipped with earlids. Where a visual space is an organized continuum of a uniformed connected kind, the ear world is a world of simultaneous relationships’* (McLuhan, 1967, p. 112).

The complexity of sound information in communication, as well as the (un)controllable character of its reception by the human ear is stressed here. Sounds come from everywhere and the exposed listeners do not have the ability to turn them off. Only after many years was ‘causal listening’ introduced (Chion, 1994, p. 25), as an evolution of the sound studies<sup>2</sup>, to question and re-establish the importance of the way people listen. However, McLuhan’s writings introduced the initial focus on sound to the academic community, in the field of communication. His attitude towards acoustic space and sound as a communication medium was a result of his general thoughts and work on the media, and especially the New Media: to McLuhan, the New Media are extensions of our senses and functions. As the wheel is the extension of our foot, the cloth is the extension of our skin and writing (text) is the extension of our ability to see, so does listening extend our ability to hear. This statement certainly justified the influence the New Media would later have on people, as well as the change from primitive applications to electronic ones, such as computers.

With regards to the discussion around acoustic space, one can also comment extensively on sound, using the understanding of the environment as a point of reference. *‘Environments are not passive wrappings, but are, rather, active processes which are invisible. The ground rules, pervasive structure, and overall patterns of environments elude easy perception. Anti-environments, or counter situations made by artists, provide means of direct attention and enable us to see and understand*

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<sup>2</sup> Although Michel Chion refers to sound on screen when analyzing the modes of listening, the focus on the ‘*most easily influenced and deceptive mode of listening*’ (1994, p. 26) can be applied to the overall auditory experience.

*more clearly. The interplay between the old and the new environments creates many problems and confusions'* (McLuhan, *The Medium is the Message*, 1967, p. 69). In this case, McLuhan introduces the importance of the active environments, inhabited by listeners, which host sound occurrences. Whether one would disregard the environment we live in and take the definition to another dimension is something that could generate academic and artistic discussions, if not problems, as mentioned earlier.

### **1.3 Acoustic Communication and beyond**

'The world is full of sounds'. While keeping in mind Ong's example mentioned above regarding time and word pronunciation, an analysis could take this a step further. This particular, or any other, written sentence, when read out loud by a voice, adds vibration to the air; the sound of the words enhances the soundscape which is altering the sound arena, also changing the resonance of the space and adding hi-fi sound elements to the listening process. At the same time, during and after the moments when words are uttered, information is exchanged between the reader/pronouncer and the listener. This information not only reveals the context of the sentence, but it also displays the characteristics of the voice, the person reading the quote and many other details. Meanwhile, the listener's focus on the acoustic environment changes, as new sounds come to the acoustic foreground. This way, singing birds, ringing bells or noisy cars would possibly be transferred to the background environment and become part of the hearing process instead of the process of listening, whereas one might be listening to the voice, its characteristics, and the meaning of the words. These interactions would have not been described in the above terms, if the field of Acoustic Communication and its terminology had not been introduced. As Physics are mainly dedicated to the physiological properties of sound, the need for exploration of other communication-oriented aspects of sound is fulfilled within the theoretical umbrella of acoustic communication.

This field of acoustic communication also involves terms such as 'acoustic community', 'soundmark', 'soundscape', 'sound signal' or 'sound field', some of which have just been used above and are explained in detail below. To deeply understand and, consequently, benefit from the theory and its basic terms, the parameters examined by Acoustic Communication need to be defined and a theme study, in terms of which concepts/subjects are involved and influenced, and under

which conditions, needs to be conducted. This area of the exchange of information is what forms the basis for the acoustic communicational model (Truax, 2007). In this model, the listener is placed in the centre, as every information exchange occurs through the listening procedure, which is not only neurophysical, but also involves a cognitive level of perception of sound and its meanings. In this specific field, Barry Truax coins and, then, examines and analyses an accurate theory behind this term. After firstly shaping the listener's profile in the environment and the interactions with the sound signals, Truax (1984) establishes a theoretical background concerning acoustic communication, which is further used across this research. It is important to indicate that, although the acoustic communication field is not recent, its elements and the relationships between them, as explained in this chapter and utilised throughout the research, still appear to be contemporary. And even beyond, they evolve and transform, intertwining theoretical and practical concepts with other fields of study, as the nature of the sounding cultures is everchanging itself. Moreover, they set the ground for relevant discussions using a more contemporary terminology. A good example is the alteration of the role of industrial sounds, which now have become *'so dominant they become sonic background rather than isolated foreground sonic events'* (Blessner & Salter, 2007, p. 105). Meanwhile, and at the same time within the acoustic communication model, Feld (1996), pointing to the acoustic experience of place, has proposed *'acoustemology'*, a term to describe sonic sensibilities, that is how a place is constructed by sound sensations, experiences and memories: *'an exploration of sonic sensibilities, specifically of ways in which sound is central to making sense, to knowing, to experiential truth'* (Feld, 1996, p. 97).

*'Where the model of acoustic communication includes the communal and personal relationships to soundscape, Feld recently added another layer, and stressed that experience and memories are related to sounds and places'* (Kytö, Remy, & Uimonen, 2012, p. 30). The research comes back to this aspect later on, in the chapter (1.5), discussing the connection between place and sound. Nevertheless, in explaining the basic terminology and key concepts of acoustic communication, it is important to keep the evolving sense-oriented approach to sound and its properties in mind.

### **1.3.1 Hearing & Listening**

How is hearing defined? *'To hear is to experience air pressure changing. Waves of pressure propagate from the sound source, causing over time a fluctuation of the air*

*pressure in the surrounding space, pressure rising and falling at each point, now higher, now lower, more compressed, then more rarefied* (Evens, 2005, p. 1). A rather descriptive, physics-related definition is observed here. In Truax's analysis regarding acoustic communication, listening is clearly separated from hearing: the two actions should be examined separately and also analysed according to their properties in the research. *'Hearing is ... a sensitivity to physical vibration within certain ranges of frequencies and intensities'* (1984, p. 13). It is considered crucial for the two verbs, and mostly their meanings, to be distinguished, as a big part of the entire research is based on the people's attitude towards sound: that is the primarily basic sense of hearing and, of course, listening, at a next, more complex and experience-related level.

Truax has defined hearing as *'sensitivity to both the detail of physical vibration within an environment and its physical orientation as revealed through its modification of those vibrations'* (1984, pp. 15-16). Along with the definition, he has claimed that hearing is able to make someone comprehend, although without much detail, his/her entire environment in all directions at the same time. Indeed, the sense of hearing helps people evaluate their environment and adapt themselves to it. However, the main concern of hearing remains the actual physical interaction between the human ear and the sound waves, while listening concerns a completely different, more composite concept of communication. It requires a more cultural procedure that keeps changing based on the context while defining *'... auditory traces. Listening, unlike hearing, values ambiguity, recognizing it as a communicational mechanism for creating new symbols and word senses that might eventually become widely adopted'* (Carter P. , 2004, p. 44). One could extend the concept of listening using Gibson's (1968) distinction quoted in Rodaway's work: the two functions of the auditory system would be the 'exteroceptive' function, which would concern direction, orientation, nature and identification of the sound event, and the 'proprioceptive' function, which is related to the production of one's own voice and the parameters which make him/her able to discern it (Rodaway, 1994, p. 91). With respect to this, Styles argued that *'...in everyday situations the sounds that come from different directions are usually not precisely matched in terms of all other auditory features'* (Styles, 2006, p. 123).

Nowadays, considering that many sounds we produce and are exposed to are already closely linked to industry and technology, the distinction between listening and

hearing results even more difficult and significant, too: ‘hums’ and ‘beeps’ are more present than ever, as a result of the devices we use to go through everyday activities; therefore, the progression from hearing to listening is, to a great extent based on the nature of these sounds and their characteristics. As it will be explained further on, there are few approaches that concern the nature of any sound and its effects in a distinctive and well-defined way: elements of these theories could be adapted in the Acoustic Communication field so that the nature of these sounds could be defined and examined. Regardless of this nature, however, every sounding object is something that can theoretically create and define independently a certain community around it, which is called ‘acoustic community’ (Blessner & Salter, 2007, p. 105).

The discrimination between hearing and listening here serves the explanation of the level of understanding of our environment through such procedures. What facilitates such an understanding is an ecological approach of the acoustic world.

### **1.3.2 Acoustic Ecology**

Acoustic Ecology (or Soundscape Ecology, or Soundscape Studies) is the ecological approach towards the sound of the environment, and Murray Schafer (1977) was the one who coined the word ‘soundscape’ to describe it. He was also the one to approach the categories of soundscapes by applying characteristics according to the area and/or the time period in which these occurred: the natural soundscape and the rural soundscape are categories that were theoretically ‘built’ separately, as their properties vary. Also, there has been a separation in the quality of the industrial soundscape which has transformed into the electric soundscape over time; these issues are studied by Acoustic Ecology. The overall purpose, however, of Acoustic Ecology was recently re-confirmed, when Schafer reinstated its meaning: *‘speaking out against destructive and unnecessary noise. It means saving our ears and those of others who might not realize that sound can be dangerous’* (2012, p. 52). Truax (1999) defines acoustic ecology as *‘the study of the effects of the acoustic environment, or soundscape, on the physical responses or behavioural characteristics of those living within it. Its particular aim is to draw attention to imbalances which may have unhealthy or inimical effects’*. Carter (Carter P. , 2004, p. 60) suggests asking ourselves *‘not only what we are hearing, but what are we listening for?’* discussing the definition of Acoustic Ecology. Before defining and delving into the term ‘soundscape’, it is important to break down the definition of Acoustic Ecology in its

elements, and show the particular area this research aims at focusing on. The aim of these studies has been to draw attention to ‘imbalances’ in the acoustic environment. Such imbalances could be caused by aircraft noises, industrial sounds, the sound of guns or loud music in clubs. In 1993, the World Forum for Acoustic Ecology was founded to study precisely these imbalances, consisting of members who represented ‘*an interdisciplinary spectrum in the study of the scientific, social and cultural aspects of the natural and human-made sound environment*’ (Kang, 2007, p. 44). In the following years, Acoustic Ecology widened its aims and discussed less intensive interactions with sound: a baby’s cry in a quiet neighborhood in the night, a car’s noise in a quiet forest or even the presence of cultural sounds, like those from humans activities (bells, works) in villages (Canova, 2013). However, it is the concept of Acoustic Ecology that also treats the world as a musical composition, having the notion of soundscape at its base. It is also this field that documents ‘*sound materials which are related to a specific socio-cultural and historical context... [and] aim at leading the design of future projects related to the environmental sound dimension*’ (Valle, Lombardo, & Schirosa, 2009, p. 331). Over the years, the term ‘soundscape’ was used to describe practically any ‘*sound environment, either in the natural world or in any recorded medium*’ (Cox & Warner, 2009, p. 415). As ‘*Acoustic Ecology provides a model for the blurring of conceptual boundaries that separate the traditional Western domains of inquiry into the categories of science, social science, and humanities*’ (Epstein, 2003, p. 3), its interdisciplinary character appears ideal to constitute the trigger of this research.

### **1.3.2.1 Geographies of Sound**

Although the geographical research in relation to sound is being conducted for a long time, new perspectives continuously evolve, placing geographies of sound in the contemporary academic research. As space and place are terms directly related to geography, and as sound appears to be an evolving medium of connecting people with place, both history and ethnology have converged to place sound in a geographical context (Coates, 2005). Rodaway explored sound as a sense a such a context too, underlining the importance of geography and the sense of place (Rodaway, 1994). Recently, Wissman published an approach to urban sound based on geographies, where he stressed, among others, the tight relations urban people develop with the sound of their place (2014).

### **1.3.2.2 A Glocal Composition**

As indicated, Acoustic Ecology mainly approaches the sound environment as a composition. As it would be expected, the variety of elements forming the identity of such composition differs from place to place. To be more precise, in our modern society, if challenged to recall the sound of goosing a car's engine, or the sound of a bird chirping, there is a common way of recalling it which constitutes a common reference so that we can communicate among ourselves. In this context, we globally mean the same thing, no matter if the species of birds differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, or if the majority of cars in a certain place are old and noisy or new and relatively silent. However, according to one's neighbourhood that is, to one's place, local sound attributes are understood differently by us, listeners. Individuals as we are, we might think of a specific bird species which sings outside our window, or we might conceptualise the sound of the neighbour's young son blasting loud bass frequencies from his powerful car sound system. Therefore, to western civilisation, a bird's chirping and a car's loud sound system is a common reference point, which is, however perceived differently in each one's ears. In other words, to broaden this thought to compositions of sound, it seems that such compositions acquire both global and local characteristics according to the listener's experience and historic and cultural background.

### **1.3.3 The multidimensional concept of Soundscape**

Overall, any acoustic field can be treated as a soundscape. *'The soundscape is any acoustic field of study. We may speak of a musical composition as a soundscape, or a radio program as a soundscape or an acoustic environment as a soundscape'* (Schafer M. , 1977, p. 13). The term soundscape refers to the acoustic field defined based on the position of the listener, and its examination should include all interactions between him/her and sound. Every sonic event which occurs and exists in one's audible area is part of a space where a soundscape creates the sound field and involves multi-levelled interactions. The wider scientific field that concerns these interactions is primarily interdisciplinary: Acoustics, Psychology, Sociology, Electronics or even the Theory on Sound Engineering may use soundscape and its attributes to approach some of the questions. Studies around soundscape developed with the contributions of Murray Schafer, who founded the World Soundscape Project (WSP) and introduced the concept of soundscape in 'The Tuning of the World'

(1977), Hildegard Westerkamp, who has studied environmental sound in terms of composition and education, and helped develop the World Forum of Acoustic Ecology (WFAE), and Barry Truax, who coined the theory of Acoustic Communication (1984), where soundscape studies are combined with acoustic and electroacoustic contexts (Truax, 2007).

It is of vital importance that the term 'soundscape' was coined so to describe a sound environment, exactly in the same way as 'landscape' describes a visual environment: Schafer has already explored the compositional aspect of the environment, the evolution of which would approach the term 'music' (1977), as its meaning has been broadened through time. Thompson involved cultural aspects in the description: *'Like a landscape, a soundscape is simultaneously a physical environment and a way of perceiving that environment; it is both a world and a culture constructed to make sense of that world. The physical aspect of a soundscape consists not only of the sounds themselves, the waves of acoustical energy permeating the atmosphere in which people live, but also the material objects that create, and sometimes destroy, those sounds. A soundscape's cultural aspects incorporate scientific and aesthetic ways of listening, a listener's relationship to their environment, and the social circumstances that dictate who gets to hear what'* (Thompson, 1988, pp. 1-2). Geographically, the listener is placed at the centre of the acoustic environment: *'The soundscape is the sonic environment which surrounds the sentient. The hearer, or listener, is at the center of the soundscape... It is a context, it surrounds and it generally consists of many sounds coming from different directions and of different characteristics'* (Rodaway, 1994, p. 86). The present research indeed focuses on a more sense-oriented approach of the term soundscape.

In contrast to the function of the acoustic space, the concept of soundscape includes the individual listener's subjectivity, while, in the first case, sounds are noticed objectively, without the human factor being taken into account. Regarding one's relationship with the soundscape, Truax indicated *'a tacit knowledge that people have about the structure of environmental sound, knowledge that manifests itself in behavior that interprets such sound and acts upon it'* (1984, p. 50). Furthermore, Truax (2007) later noted that *'the basic aim was not to further exploit the environment as a source of musical material, but rather to exploit the knowledge base of musical design in order to re-design the soundscape and to reawaken people's perceptual appreciation of its importance'*. Parallel to these compositional/musical attributes of

the term ‘soundscape’, and in connection to the evolution of its meaning, there applies the concept of acoustic horizon and acoustic arena, as described by Blesser and Salter (2007): ‘*An acoustic arena is centered at the sound source; listeners are inside or outside the arena of the sonic event. An acoustic horizon is centered at the listener; sonic events are within the horizon of the listener. Every sonic event has an acoustic arena, and every listener an acoustic horizon*’ (2007, p. 22). They also talked about the importance of auditory channels, concerning the connection between a listener and a sonic event. When comparing and contrasting the term ‘soundscape’ to the term ‘acoustic arena’, it is based on the given approach followed that the differences in their characteristics are distinguished. Such characteristics, however, can include ones that are not directly sound-related. For instance, the aforementioned approach by Emily Thompson regarding the cultural aspects and the social circumstances would have not diverted the research away from its purpose had its elements been.

#### **1.3.4 Sound Signals & Soundmarks in Contemporary Life**

To delve into the core of the term ‘soundscape’, its units should be defined and discussed: many sound signals enrich a soundscape and soundmarks are often the signals which render it important. *Sound signals* are sounds which resonate within a community, usually standing out of a usual background texture. A definition supports that a sound signal is ‘*any sound or message which is meant to be listened to, measured or stored*’ (Truax, 1999), while Schafer had described sound signal as ‘*any sound to which the attention is particularly directed*’ (The Soundscape. Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World, 1977, p. 275). Truax also points out that within this area of interest, ‘*acoustic cues and signals constantly keep the community in touch with what is going on from day to day within it*’ (1984, p. 58). As he suggests, there are many ways of studying the sound signals of an area: ‘*on the basis of their acoustic characteristics, which may represent a recognized code or other pattern pertaining to their use; subjectively, by their individually perceived meanings; historically, according to their evolution within a given social context; comparatively, by type and function in different cultures or periods; symbolically, according to their connotative and associative meanings*’ (Truax, 1999). In other words, sound signals appear everywhere and they declare their existence by the mere fact of drawing attention towards them. In this respect, subjectivity plays a significant role in approaching them, since even the historical and symbolical value might be subject to

change, according to the investigator.

Narrowing down this concept, what appears of major importance for a community's character is the presence of *soundmarks*: Soundmarks are unique community sounds, or they are made of '*qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community. Soundmarks, therefore, are of cultural and historical significance and merit preservation and protection*' (Truax, 1999). The essential meaning of the term soundmark also appears to be negotiable, as the particular characteristics of cultural and/or historical significance may differ from listener to listener. Besides, '*...the only person to classify soundmarks as such is the listener*' (Wissman, 2014, p. 218).

From the definitions provided, it is shown that a soundmark which stands out as an important sound signal can be representative of an acoustic community: it exists in its environment and is characterised by the connection to the community itself, while describing it within particular aspects. It also acquires qualities and unique characteristics. Furthermore, the fact that soundmarks exist (although in different conditions) in both the domestic and outdoor environment in every community is important, as the sound experience acquires more complex characteristics. The evolution of the contemporary sound environment, as discussed above, has morphed these interactions in a way rendering them more complex than when these terms were coined. A description of the urban sound environment could be a beginning in (re-)placing soundmarks and sound signals in the contemporary days. Everyday behaviours, the everchanging cultural activities, commercial actions and human habits which keep evolving, undoubtedly change the nature of sound signals and appear able to question the so far established notion of soundmark. Not only this, but soundmarks related to the past are worth researching to uncover new correlations with the contemporary everyday life. '*The soundmark, historical, and disappearing sounds, as well as the memories of those who can recall the soundscapes of the past, are all worthy of preservation and respect*' (Truax, 2001, p. 106).

Before beginning such a debate, it is important to present the contemporary debate on the field of Acoustic Ecology, so that the terminology may be expanded further.

### **1.3.5 Today's Acoustic Communication and Soundscape's Theory**

From the establishment of the soundscape concept onwards, there have been many discussions concerning the way Soundscape Studies approach the acoustic

environment. Academics and artists discussed Schafer's work (and the whole soundscape theory of the 70's) critically, or analysed the sound environment with less, or no, consideration of its compositional/musical attitude. Such attitudes also support a reconsideration of the relationship between the listener and the sound environment, through re-evaluating the role of noise - a distinctive urban sound. Westerkamp, one of the founders and practitioners of soundscape studies indicated that anyway *'the word soundscape always implies interaction between environment and individual, and between environment and community'* (1988). Hence, the balance and the way of prioritising the enhancement of either the soundscape or the society, so that the first can drag along the second, can be defined here. Peter Cusack (2000) mentioned problems with the hi-fi and lo-fi adequacy, as he characterised the separation static, mechanistic and somewhat unfair with respect to the classification evaluation. A matter of subjection and closeness can also form a questioning case in soundscape studies. As McCartney (2010) notes, *'The solitude of the pasture and the wilderness is romanticized and desired in contrast to the familiarity and close quarters of daily, noisy urban life. By referring to the hi-fi soundscape as an example of an ecological soundscape, are we shaping soundscape studies through a particularly northern and isolationist framework? Is this what we want?'*. Hi-fi and Lo-fi classification represented an issue for other academics as well, whose main concern has been the difficulty to decide between signal and noise (Kreutzfeldt, 2010) or to find the moment when the soundscape turns from hi to lo or the opposite (Paparrigopoulos, 2012).

While Schafer's theory of soundscape appears to acquire positivistic elements in approaching of the sound environment while applying a musical composition character to it, it seems that some discussions were also made about the absence of this exact musical character: Mâche (1980) had found the proposal mostly oriented towards 'sound urbanism' while noting the absence of music from the work, considering Schafer's work rather pedagogical. Lopez (1998), on the other hand, regarded soundscape theory as a *'misleading, simplistic view for understanding and appreciation of soundscapes'*, expressing his doubts about approaching communication matters with aesthetic features. In relation to this, the 'Positive Soundscapes Project' team supports in its findings *'the long-standing artistic notion of the environmental soundscape as being a sort of musical composition has been borne out'* (The Positive Soundscapes Project, 2009) in their findings.

*'Being a composer himself, it is true to admit that Schafer's criticism was mainly made by researchers or artists interested in music'* (Paparrigopoulos, 2012). Truax (2008) also recognized that *'the re-integration of the listener with the environment'* is what has been missing', while Foreman claimed that *'soundscape compositions present the very ontological structure of being with. Sense is a singular multiplicity that is each time expressed anew in a singularly multiple way'* (Foreman, 2011, p. 269).

At a theoretical level, it is at this point crucial to redefine the limits and the limitations of soundscape studies using the level that had once been set, and to move towards a more spatial, sense-related and human-centric approach. The notion of acoustic community served as a helping tool at this level, and so did the term 'soundmark'. But, as the research is based on these terms, it is important to redefine them in a new, more experiential context, which combines elements from the aural architectural structures. Blesser and Salter (2007), in establishing the aural architecture, as it shall later be analysed, as well as Smith (2001, p. 261) and Hung (2009, p. 355), have already placed the dimension of space within a wider approach of soundscape theory. Subjectivity issues have also been present in this case, which connect directly to how society works. Bookchin indicated that *'What literally defines social ecology as "social" is its recognition of the often overlooked fact that nearly all our present ecological problems arise from deep-seated social problems. Conversely, present ecological problems cannot be clearly understood, much less resolved, without resolutely dealing with problems within society'* (1993, p. 32).

Along with this path, Soundscape Studies can be more efficient with respect to the description of a place and the aural-related interactions occurring within the same, as a contemporary 'acoustic-ecological' approach can involve social parameters.

Schafer's view appears to include characteristics that apply to musicology. Being a composer himself, he inevitably attributed elements related to music to the establishment of Soundscape Studies. He saw the soundscape as a composition: *'is the soundscape of the world an indeterminate composition over which we have no control, or are we its composers and performers, responsible for giving it form and beauty?'* (1977, p. 10). From the beginning of his main work Murray Schafer will *'treat the world as a macrocosmic musical composition. This is an unusual idea but I am going to nudge it forward relentlessly. The definition of music has undergone radical change in recent years. In one of the more contemporary definitions, John*

*Cage has declared: "Music is sounds, sounds around us whether we're in or out of concert halls: cf. Thoreau"* (Schafer M. , 2009, p. 30).

It is worth mentioning that Acoustic Communication still offers a wide range of tools to approach many sound-related issues that concern society and the communities living in it. As cultures evolve and the way of living is constantly changing, the nature of the co-existing sounds which dominate the environment transforms, and the informational exchange keeps changing in a parallel way. The tools described in this chapter, however, can still be used as standards to investigate the conditions under which the information between the sounds and the listeners is transferred. In fact, the multidisciplinary of acoustic communication regarding society and communities was recently stressed again: *'The research on soundscape and acoustic communication concentrates on the relationships of individuals, environments, and communities constructed by sounds. From this point of view, every sound can be considered worth one's attention and research, and, conversely, no sound is considered good or bad per se'* (Kytö, Remy, & Uimonen, 2012, p. 27).

#### **1.4 Acoustic Community: A Community around Sound**

What characterises a community is the acquirement of certain cultural and/or material attributes, and when these can be dated to the ones of the acoustic community, then they can accordingly orient the nature of these attributes to properties and qualities of sound. Thus, it is essential to refer to sounds, which may obtain important 'cultural and/or material attributes': characteristics that lead us to the definition of 'soundmark', as examined above. *'Sounds define the community spatially and temporally, as well as socially and culturally. An acoustic community is defined by various types of sounds that have special roles in the environment that contribute to its definition – sound signals – which communicate information'* (Foreman, 2011, p. 269).

Schafer (1977) separated the acoustic community from the spatial community: certain loud sounds and the reaction to them by what we call 'civilisation' may intertwine the limits between these two meanings. As acoustic spaces can vary in many ways, similarly, many interactions among the existing individuals who may inhabit or visit these spaces can be observed. An essential categorisation is the one between *private* and *public* acoustic spaces. What distinguishes the difference between them is the social role of an individual within a community. A private acoustic space can involve

social exclusion, while, in a public space, social inclusion can be promoted (Blessner & Salter, 2007). This can result to a first approach concerning where and how community boundaries can be placed. However, for these values to be correlated, one is ought to define the acoustic space in a newer context than the one in which it was analysed so far, as well as how this acoustic space is defined by sound and vice versa. This analysis takes place in the next chapter, combining issues which have already been examined with the notion of space.

During his research, Schafer pointed out various kinds of communities: political, geographical, religious or social (The Soundscape. Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World, 1977, p. 215). However, in a certain acoustic space, no matter the kind of the community inhabiting it, the space may acquire specific characteristics by the presence of (listening to) significant sounds, which are also characterised by social and geographical context. Moreover, Schaffer underlined the significance of a certain pattern that communities follow and are defined by. Similarly, Truax used the term ‘acoustic community’ to describe environments where sound is of high importance, and also has the ability to bind/weaken community structures or express a community’s individuality. *‘The acoustic community may be defined as any soundscape in which acoustic information plays a pervasive role in the lives of the inhabitants’* (1984, p. 58). The community’s attitudes may be explored through the examination of concrete sounds, the ones called ‘sound signals’, so that an acoustic profile may be shaped. For LaBelle, the term ‘acoustic’ in this case involves sound that may be a voice or dialogue and serve the purpose of sharing or confronting for the people in the community (LaBelle, 2010). He and his scientific team also developed the ‘Positive Soundscape Project’ which is introduced below, trying to understand *‘how sound participates as a vibrant ingredient within community life’* (LaBelle, 2010, p. 83). Truax had already focused the meaning of acoustic community on positive definitions and indeed, an attempt is now made to understand the procedures taking place when sound occurs in everyday life experiences within the communities. Accordingly, Blessner and Salter coined the term ‘acoustic arena’, which refers to a region where the listeners belong to a community that shares an ability to hear a sonic event (Blessner & Salter, 2007). Using this term, they defined the acoustic community as the *‘social consequence of an acoustic arena’* where the individuals are able to hear the same sonic event. They, then, stressed the fact that *‘an individual who broadcasts some signal or information makes a sonic connection to everyone within*

*the arena. In the region where listeners are part of a community that shares an ability to hear a sonic event, there is an acoustic horizon, which delineates an acoustic arena'* (Blessner & Salter, 2007, p. 22).

Before focusing on the characteristics of the acoustic community and setting the basis for an exploration and discussion of the term, it is considered important to, firstly, better introduce the general concept of community and, then, to describe the ethnic community characteristics, since the present research unravels in a case of this kind.

#### **1.4.1 The Concept of Community**

Before advancing, this research shall identify in which way the terms included in the definitions of acoustic community intertwine with the overall concept of community. A community involves a group of people-members who are defined or described upon a basis of shared or common elements. Cultural and/or material characteristics are the ones which describe these members and form the community, as already pointed out. To move to the next step, and given that the research later on explores the term 'acoustic community', it is essential to delve into the core of this concept, providing space for the investigation of the interrelations which developed between the members of a given community to, then, focus on sound-related characteristics. As far as its basic organisation is concerned, it results that its members-individuals are not the only factor taken into account to characterise a community as such. The social structures developed internally need to be clear, to 'belong together' and to form unity, including sentiments and values (Day, 2006, p. 12). To this respect, Parsons talked about the 'societal community' to bring the attention on such structures in the definition (1951) – he insisted on the community being a collectivity with a common territorial area for the everyday activities of its members. Of course, the sense of belonging as the fundamental element of the community had been stressed already in the past (Tonnies, 1957). Tonnies indicated the importance and strength of solidarity and boundness between humans who share similar everyday activities in a place, which seem to be absent in large-scale industrial/urban zones. Also, referring to community, Mannheim stressed the characteristic of a set of common interests which are shared among the members, rather than varied and sparse (1936). But one of the fundamental characteristics of a community is its ability to change, evolve and generate discussions on complex matters concerning it. The power of these dynamics was also praised by Nisbet, in his statement that '*much of the reorientation of moral*

*and social philosophy is the consequence of the impact of the rediscovery of community in historical and sociological thought* (Nisbet, 1967, p. 53).

Delanty supported that an exclusively institutional arrangement is not always what expresses a community, and that the presence of symbolic forms is also observed. He insisted on the ability of a community to construct boundaries which are consisted in its symbolic nature (2010, p. 35). Thus, the concept of community implies the existence of certain boundaries and the ways these are created, displaying definite bonds among its members and creating certain patterns within its core. The vagueness of the term is enhanced as community may just refer to a group of people in a certain space. These already convoluted meanings within the concept of community become much more complex when boundaries as the ones discussed are unclear. As Cohen supported, *'...the symbolic expression of community and its boundaries increases in importance as the actual geo-social boundaries of the community are undermined, blurred or otherwise weakened'* (Cohen, 1985, p. 50). At this point, it is already shown that the concept of community intertwines with that of boundaries at a theoretical level, as these two terms are associated with one another.

#### **1.4.2 Ethnic Community**

In those places inhabited by groups according to their origin, religion or place of birth, ethnic communities are formed. These are formed and participate in the everyday life activities of the area where they develop, and the communication between their members takes place based on a certain system of codes, relevant to the place they are situated. Moreover, studies have shown that the ethnic groups in a specific place, in particular, gradually develop certain bonds which are also due to the political situation: *"As cities become more and more diverse and unstable due to changes in the nature of capitalism and industrialization, a sense of place and attachment, which is generally related to ethnicity, can be possible only in small localities or neighbourhoods"* (Delanty, 2010, p. 40). The primary language is a parameter which can also be an ethnic community's characteristic, although it is possible that this is no longer spoken by its members after some generations (Delanty, 2010, p. 129). The main characteristics, however, of an ethnic community can be traced when analysing the term 'ethnicity', mainly pointing to religion, nation and locality: *'Ethnicity, while being a fundamental feature of our societies, especially as a*

*source of discrimination and stigma, may not induce communes on its own. Rather, it is likely to be processed by religion, nation, and locality, whose specificity it tends to reinforce* (Castells, 1997, p. 65).

### **1.4.3 Characteristics of the Acoustic Community**

At this stage, and after having introduced key features of the term ‘community’ and reviewed the respective elements which identify an ethnic community, the characteristics of an acoustic community may be examined: the terms ‘soundscape’ and ‘acoustic arena’ may be used to outline the characteristics of what forms it. An acoustic arena acquires a more architectural attribute, while a soundscape a more social one. However, both terms concern the complex procedures denoting the interaction between a listener (or a community of listeners) and the sound environment. At this point, LaBelle, clarifies the term ‘acoustic’, as involving sound that can be a voice or dialogue and serve the purpose of sharing and confronting for the people in the community (LaBelle, 2010). Therefore, the reference to the acoustic community as defined in the past, leaves potentially room for debate. Whether a particular group of people around sound signals can form an acoustic community or not becomes debateable initially: firstly, boundaries, bonds and patterns related to the existing sounds need to be examined in the process of characterising an acoustic community as such. However, an acoustic community, except from being defined by its soundmarks, as mentioned earlier, acquires certain characteristics which differentiate it from ethnic communities: sound matters. Any other concept, like religion or sports might bring together groups of people in local or in a global level, but by placing the importance of sound in the foreground, the concept of an acoustic community becomes theoretical, the locality of which may be questioned – even groups of people in cyberspace can form an acoustic community around the audio content they are listening to. What is important here, is the elements characterising the community with a focus on sound: boundaries, bonds and patterns.

#### **1.4.3.1 Boundaries**

The area where the sound signal or, to be precise, the soundmark resonates, appears valid to set the boundaries within which an acoustic community is defined. The reach of a church bell and, consequently, its noticeability by the listener might well state the

geographical area in which an acoustic community can develop and be characterized as such. Clearly, boundaries are fluid: a case of a moving acoustic community might concern a ship horn (Schafer M. , 1977), music in a concert, or even music distributed and listened through the internet (Katz, 2005). As sound travels along with the air, theoretically, the boundaries of an acoustic community do travel with it.

#### **1.4.3.2 Bonds**

The nature of the bonds which concern the sound defining the acoustic community, but also the actions which are related to it, is always a matter under investigation. As within all communities, various kinds of bonds can develop within the acoustic one. For example, the hodja's call to prayer from a mosque at specific time slots during the day might create bonds of numerous attributes to all listeners exposed to it; depending on one's historical background, ethnicity or religious beliefs, people develop relations with the sounds when exposed to them, and consequently, with the other members of the acoustic community, too. As far as the source of the sound itself is concerned, especially when it is so meaningful, it has the purpose of working in favour of the bonds of the listeners it is addressed to.

#### **1.4.3.3 Patterns**

Lived experience itself consists of patterns of feelings or values, during its construction and evolution (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Such patterns should be traceable within an acoustic community also: a soundmark like the sound of a printing press in a quiet neighbourhood, and even more, its possible disappearance in a few years' time, would undoubtedly create a changing pattern in the listeners' way of living in the given in the given neighbourhood. Remembering and reflecting on such sound would reveal such changes in the existing patterns. Similarly, not only technological, but also cultural evolution can play a vital role in the nature of patterns created in a certain community. Refugees, workers coming and going, construction of domestic or work places and the actions these involve, bring long-term changes to the patterns within people.

### **1.5 Acoustic Space & Place Attachment**

The previous chapters of the theoretical background presented soundscape-related theories and discussed sound-oriented approaches to these, rather than compositional or musical ones. The present study now focuses on the way in which Sound Studies

set the research background, focusing on the spatial and human aspect. ‘...*Sound studies and auditory knowledge contribute greatly to understandings of the ‘geographic’ and the modern legacy of spatial production...*’ (LaBelle, 2010, p. xxi). In this respect, to define the auditory experience and examine its elements, sound has to be studied in correlation with the space where it takes place. Thus, the following chapters of the research focus on space, place and their relation to sound.

Moving onwards from the discussion around sound itself, the research in this chapter approaches the theoretical terms ‘space’ and ‘place’ using sound as a reference point, so that they are adequately defined and established before the implementation stage.

### **1.5.1 The Contemporary Acoustic Space**

It is evident that the listeners’ perception of the relative direction from which a sound comes may alter by turning their head; an everyday fact which would enhance the statement that sounds create spatial impressions: they have the ability to deliver a sense of size (volume) and distance, and due to this function, they define not only the auditory space, but, also as it is discussed below, specific features of it. Likewise, in an attempt to emphasise the position and, thus, the subjectivity and uniqueness of sound quality when resonating in a particular space, Sterne notes, ‘*depending on the positioning of hearers, a space may sound totally different. If you hear the same sound in two different spaces, you may not even recognize it as the same sound. Hearing requires positionality*’ (2012, p. 4). To begin with, it is important to stress that the necessary focus should be put on the dependence of the sound’s character from the space where it resonates. In space, moreover, the volume of spaciousness is determined by the senses and it, thus, becomes evident that ‘*sound dramatizes spatial experience*’ (Tuan Y.-F. , 1977, p. 16). Directionality and the spatial sound experience appear to connect with the notion of acoustic space, and the properties that defining it.

#### **1.5.1.1 Physical Properties of Acoustic Space**

As already stressed, McLuhan and Carpenter introduced the notion of Acoustic Space (or ‘Auditory Space’) from as early as the 50’s. However, the term was poorly appreciated up until the 1970’s, when the World Soundscape Project was introduced to the academic community. It was during this period, that composers, social scientists and other interested-in-sound groups started to explore the multidimensional properties of the soundscape and study its influence on the people. Consequently, the

more modern description of acoustic space did not limit itself to the Media Environment, but would come to contain other dimensions, including concepts of natural environments or the everyday experience. Indeed, it would come to incorporate the general, live spatial environment which had to be defined and described in relation to sound. Again, in this case, space appears to be able to be demarcated by sound, as far as its physical properties are concerned.

Sounds exist everywhere and sound waves travel through the air: the receiver and, at the same time, the reference point is the human ear, since when audible sound information (both physical and cultural) is present, it can be efficiently analysed at both stages. Nevertheless, as far as audibility is concerned, sounds need to take place in a certain space defined by –at a first level- physical borders, wherever these may be. Therefore, Schafer described the term ‘acoustic space’ as follows: ‘*The acoustic space of a sounding object is that volume of space in which the sound can be heard*’ (1977, p. 214). It is worth emphasising the fact that among the information sounds carry, characteristics of the space where these sounds take place are present. Thus, the character of an acoustic space appears, to an extent, to be formed with the help of the existing sound.

More specifically, a variety of qualities of acoustic spaces was observed, however a basic separation at two levels can facilitate the study of the factors related to the acoustic space.

At a first level, a house is a concrete acoustic space that deteriorates the sounds coming from the inner space with its walls and prevents them from being heard outside, while at the same time, the same walls prevent a considerable amount of sound from entering the house and being audible to the people who live in it. In this case, complex interactions evolve as individuals set the limits or focus of the acoustic and visual space.

At a second level, there is the outdoor space where the conditions of sound existence change. Sound is free to expand within a greater space, where it acquires the potential to be noticed at a large scale; both natural and mechanical sounds exist, loud enough to dominate vast outdoor acoustic spaces.

Moreover, sounds flow within the acoustic space and are, consequently, always dependent on each space’s physical characteristics. For many centuries, acoustics have been taken into account when building. Churches, concert halls or other gathering places were (and are still) constructed in a way to form particular structures

that enable sound ‘manipulation’. Truax (1984), Roth (2003), Blesser and Salter (2007) and Schnapp (2010) are some of the academics who extensively discussed the strategic acoustics of churches in terms of communication and their effects. Indeed, reverberation and/or echo are phenomena that are often attractive to the human ear and appear able to challenge matters for discussion. These spatial properties that sound acquires when it resonates in special acoustic spaces drive architects to design their work accordingly when erecting such structures. Nevertheless, in the case of this research the focus should remain on the nature and the detail of sound properties which make the space acquire such complex meanings, and consequently, identities. These properties pave the way for a more complex definition of the acoustic space.

#### ***1.5.1.2 Acoustic and Visual Space/ Boundaries***

To be able to imagine and understand the idea of acoustic space, it would be useful to compare it to the visual space, in the same way as landscape and landmark were compared to soundscape and soundmark, respectively, earlier in this research. In any case, such comparisons were introduced from the moment the notion of ‘Acoustic Space’ was coined. The comparison here takes place to better explain and thoroughly discuss the acoustic space and acoustic boundaries, rather than to prepare the ground for such a comparative research later on. In this case too, the importance of the auditory sense was raised as early as the 60’s: *‘Civilization is built on literacy because literacy is a uniform processing of a culture by a visual sense extended in space and time by the alphabet. In tribal cultures, experience is arranged by a dominant auditory sense-life that represses visual values. The auditory sense, unlike the cool and neutral eye, is hyper-esthetic and delicate and all-inclusive’* (McLuhan, 1964, p. 86). Accordingly, Ong supported that *‘sight isolates, sound incorporates. Whereas sight situates the observer outside what s/he views, at a distance, sound pours into the hearer. Vision dissects, as Merleau-Ponty has observed (1961). Vision comes to a human being from one direction at a time: to look at a room or a landscape, I must move my eyes around from one part to another. When I hear, however, I gather sound simultaneously from every direction at once: I am at the center of my auditory world, which envelopes me, establishing myself at a kind of core of sensation and existence. This centering effect of sound is what high-fidelity sound reproduction exploits with intense sophistication. You can immerse yourself in hearing, in sound. There is no way to immerse yourself similarly in sight’* (Orality and

Literacy, *The Technologizing of the Word*, 1982, p. 70). The connection between (acoustic and/or visual) space and its effect on the senses when describing one's experience in a place is already at the centre of discussion. At the same time, the multidimensional quality of the auditory experience and its special character are outlined. The limitations of the visual sense are given, as vision has indeed viewable bounds and barriers, which end there where the eye can reach. When there are walls, fences or any kind of visual obstacles, so when the eye cannot reach further, the limits of the visual space are clearly defined. On the contrary, an acoustic space is defined by acoustic boundaries and that makes it differ from the visual space. This is the basic way in which the trajectory of the soundscape differs from the property lines of the landscape. Sound can travel and define its own acoustic space. However, the geographical and spatial aspects of the environment always inevitably define the form in which sound will reach to the human ear. At the same time, space can affect not only the physicality of sound, but also the characteristics of sound production, as Schafer had pointed out (Schafer M. , 1977). Sound travels across natural or human-made borders, as visual obstacles cannot prevent it from being heard – air is what makes it audible. Compared to visual space, no matter the kind of the existing restricting limits, an acoustic space in place questions the fluidity of any borders in the area and their transcendence and/or nullification by sound. Sound travels and its boundaries are questionable: *'Sounds are located in space but have no spatial boundaries. They take time, and usually have a beginning and an end in time'*, comments Scruton (2009, p. 60), drawing the attention to the boundaries of the spatial dimension and focusing on them departing from the wide field of space itself. It is the time dimension that helps their location, apart from space, and the time is global, even across boundaries. However, the term 'soundscape' by itself appears to be able to define its own territories: *'the potential unboundedness of the soundscape, given the confines of "territory", figures sonic space as a medium in which culture might be located (and perpetually re/located)... Sound...transgresses bounds of visual space'* (Obert, 2006, p. 4). In this concept, Obert proposes 'the "deterritorialisation" of culture, and its reconceptualisation in acoustic space' (2006, p. 5), as the ability of sound to travel across visual borders may unite features of cultural communities between borders. Atkinson noted in favour of this argument that *'acoustic territories can be delineated and appear to have a variety of social functions and influences. Music, sound and noise can be seen as spatial and temporal territories in the city*

*suggesting that for particular groups the soundscape has a profound effect on patterns of social association, physical movement and interaction*' (Ecology of Sound: The Sonic Order of Urban Space, 2007, p. 1915). As it is explored, the travelling of sound has the ability to set or create boundaries itself, to empower them but, also, to question them: sound and its movement in the acoustic space by influencing the soundscape it is able to influence the boundaries people live in, particularly as far as their experience is concerned. Recently, Schafer, in his discussion about McLuhan's term 'acoustic space', discoursed on the complexity of its meaning and stressed the importance of the sensation rather than the reflection towards it, as far as the human experience is concerned (2007).

Finally, a space can define sound as its walls and environment deteriorate the circulation of the sound waves and make them reach to our ears in a characteristic and unique manner. Truax has defined acoustic space as '*the perceived area encompassed by a soundscape, either an actual environment, or an imagined one*' to focus on the relationship between sound and space in terms of information exchange: '*Every sound brings with it information about the space in which it occurs (for environmental sound) or is thought to occur (as with synthesized sound). With environmental sound, loudness and the quality of reverberation mainly determine the kind of space that is perceived, enclosed or open, large or small...*' (Truax, 1999). At this point, an aspect of the sound's influence and its characteristics within space is brought to light. It is shown that acoustic space needs for limits to be defined and, consequently, studied, even if these limits are not as clear as the visual ones may be. However, the way people construct or limit spaces appears to be of crucial importance for the definition and function of the acoustic space.

As already clarified, the complex relationship and connection between people and space with respect to sound is the focal point of the present research. Consequently, the attitude of a place's inhabitants towards their acoustic space, and the cultural conditions under which these processes take place are also put into question. It was already noted that one of the factors directly influencing these attitudes and relations is the acoustic space, described above. However, prior to investigating the interrelations occurring within such spaces, it is important to focus on the properties of space and how the induction to place occurs.

### 1.5.2 Space properties towards Place

*'In order to understand the politics, cultures and stories of specific places, it is necessary to let go of the romantic tendencies to associate one place with civilization and another with wilderness, to pay attention to the multiple stories that exist in each place. These recent reconstructions of place and space contest the simplistic formulations that associate space (and wilderness) with exploration and danger, place (and civilization) with security and restriction'* (McCartney A. S., 1999, p. 39).

Explaining the procedure by which space becomes place, Carter et. al note: *'as the flows of power and negotiations of social relations are rendered in the concrete form of architecture; and also, of course, by embodying the symbolic and imaginary investments of a population. Place is space to which meaning has been ascribed'* (Carter, Donald, & Squires, 1993, p. xii).

Relph noted that *'the confusion about the meaning of the notion of place appears to result because it is not just a formal concept awaiting precise definition, but is also a naïve and variable expression of geographical experience'* (1976, p. 4). Using the dimension of geography as a starting point, but aiming directly at studying the sound experience in a particular space, the research approaches the term 'place' likewise. Cresswell observed that *'most places are more often the product of everyday practice. Places are never finished but produced through the reiteration of practices - the repetition of seemingly mundane activities on a daily basis'* (2004, p. 82). And as practices seem to characterise a place, it appears reasonable to quote Harvey, who supported the social dimension of it: *'Place, in whatever guise, is like space and time, a social construct. This is the baseline proposition from which I start. The only interesting question that can then be asked is: by what social process(es) is place constructed?'* (1996, p. 261)

To appreciate, however, the complexity of the various elements which compose the term 'place', the variety of experiences of humans inhabiting it has to be considered and redefined. *'To be inside a place empathetically is to understand that place as rich in meaning, and hence to identify with it, for these meanings are not only linked to the experiences and symbols of those whose place it is, but also stem from one's own experiences'* (Relph E. , 1976, pp. 54-55). In terms of experiences, sound, both as a social process and as an experience, is proven to be able to contribute to the description of one's presence in the place and connection with it.

As early as the middle of the past century, the notion of place exceeded geographical

limits and was put in more cultural and political concepts. ‘*Place* places man in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality’ (Heidegger, 1958, p. 19). Complex interactions characterise the definition of place or one’s presence in a place. Rodman stated that ‘*Places are not inert containers. They are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions*’ (1992, p. 641). Before introducing the relevant Place Attachment Theory, which shall add value to the properties of such constructions, the importance of existing sound in evolving places should be stressed: while further exploring the structure of space, with a focus on the physical properties sound uses to resonate, while at the same time exploring its cultural attributes, the acoustic properties of space appear to play an important role. Thus, the concept of an aural architectural context is introduced.

### **1.5.3 Aural Architecture**

Acoustic spaces acquire attributes which need to be considered in order to understand how aural architecture is able to produce spatial experiences (Blesser & Salter, 2007, p. 331). Ultimately, the spatial experience of a listener is deeply related to the sonic experience, and both functions are highly dependent on the design of a place’s aural architecture. Thus, essential terms of the field of aural architecture need to be considered and put into the current framework of the research. To delve into such terms, the initial concept of aural architecture needs to be explained. With regards to the complexity of spaces and their effect on the listening experience, Blesser and Salter support that ‘*a real environment, such as an urban street, a concert hall, or a dense jungle, is sonically far more complex than a single wall*’ (Blesser & Salter, 2007, p. 2). This becomes more obvious, as sound objects and sound sources are constantly present and ever changing: Along with these, the sonic field and the listener’s soundscape also change. Continuing this thought, the authors support that ‘*the composite of numerous surfaces, objects, and geometries in a complicated environment creates an aural architecture*’ (Blesser & Salter, 2007, p. 2). Objects or surfaces clearly create a particular resonance of an area’s existing sounds, providing them with their attributes. In other words, as Chambers states, ‘*the streets, squares and stone; the form of the city: Do these contours also shape its sounds?*’ (Chambers, 2008, p. 42). Taking Chambers’ question a step further, it is intriguing to see whether such structures of aural architecture can acquire a social meaning for those listeners

who live in a given place.

Sound messages, or any sound information exchange occurring in one place, is defined by its aural architecture: cultural and social functions are determined by the nature of a sonic experience in a specific place. Additionally, as far as the cultural context is concerned, one must study the acoustic parameters involved to reach a conclusion. The listener, his/her personal cultural and social background, as well as the purposes and meanings of the sonic actions are parameters defining the relationship between him/her and the sound object in this context. It is through architecture, both aural and visual, that people appear to develop cognitive relations towards a place. *‘Visual and aural meanings often align and reinforce each other. For example, the visual vastness of a cathedral communicates through the eyes, while its enveloping reverberation communicates through the ears. For those with ardent religious beliefs, both senses create a feeling of being in the earthly home of their deity’* (Blessner & Salter, 2007, p. 3). It would be worth exploring the way in which spaces interact with people sonically, and analyse the nature of the bond people develop with such spaces through sound. In line with this concept, the research proceeds with discussing place attachment and the connection with sound, focusing specifically on the type of these bonds.

#### **1.5.4 Place Attachment Theory**

In this research, place attachment theory is used in an effort to discuss in detail the correlation between an individual and the acoustic space, which acquires the characteristics of a place, when actions by individuals take place within it. It is important to focus on this change, and study those factors and interactions that are present during such transformations: senses, feelings, a sense of membership or a being-in-place state can contribute to the construction of place attachment. However, the way this is connected to sound will be outlined only after place attachment is defined and described at a first level.

The term ‘place attachment’ involves the emotional and/or affective bonds of an individual with a place, as it occurs when inhabiting a place long-term, as Smaldone notes (Smaldone, 2006). *‘Places are more than geographic settings with definitive physical and textual characteristics; they are fluid, changeable, dynamic contexts of social interaction and memory’* (Stokowski, 2002). Scannel and Gifford define place attachment as *‘...a bond between an individual or group and a place that can vary in*

*terms of spatial level, degree of specificity, and social or physical features of the place, and is manifested through affective, cognitive, and behavioral psychological processes'* (2010, p. 5).

Before delving into the various dimensions of this complex term, and after having overviewed the concept of space and the properties of acoustic space above, the notion of place should be introduced. At this point it would be useful to clarify the relationship between space and place: their main difference lies in the kind of experience the individual has in each one of them. When being in a *place*, one can have a sense of space, taking the time factor into account. Both space and time are experiences that are subconscious, as Tuan has argued (Tuan Y.-F. , 1977). However, emotional or affective bonds between an individual and a certain space form a sense of place (Tuan Y.-F. , 1974). Also, Tuan has referred to the dimension of distance, in a particular place, as an important factor involving time. Scholars agree that sound participates in this concept because of its ability to '*enrich the human feeling for space*' (Tuan Y.-F. , 1977, p. 14): it constitutes a basic means of giving a sense of distance to the listener and, consequently, influences not only the sense of space, but potentially the attachment to a place, too.

It is also significant to refer to the awareness of space and time as separate dimensions; however, keeping in mind that their combination forms an individual's attitude towards one experience. 'Place' is defined differently by each of us, so does our relation to it: its notion is a personal construction that is emphasised by place attachment - each person's definition of place differs, to the extent to which perception of the environment occurs in a different, individually constructed way. This action takes place when someone 'occupies' physical space, whichever/wherever this space might be. Cresswell already suggested that attachment may occur between people and buildings, environments, homes, objects, landscapes, neighbourhoods, towns and cities. He is also the one who talked about the procedure one undergoes to turn a space into a place, by '*investing meaning in it*' (Cresswell, 2004). Therefore, place attachment concerns the way humans are physically or/and socially bonded to a place. It consists of all those procedures taking place when a person develops an emotional bond/relationship to the habitual or temporally visited place.

Over time, notions like 'topophilia' (Tuan Y.-F. , 1974), 'sense of place' (Relph E. , 1976), 'rootedness' (Tuan Y.-F. , 1980), 'place identity' (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983), or 'environmental embeddedness' (Hummon, 1992) were

introduced to define aspects of place attachment, and to better describe the qualitative relationship between a place and an individual. As mentioned above, these dimensions shall not be analysed, nor correlated in this research; however, they are importantly indicative of the aspects and dynamics place attachment develops. More recently, and in relation to this concept, place attachment was given two clear dimensions: place identity and place dependence (Kyle, Absher, & Graefe, 2003).

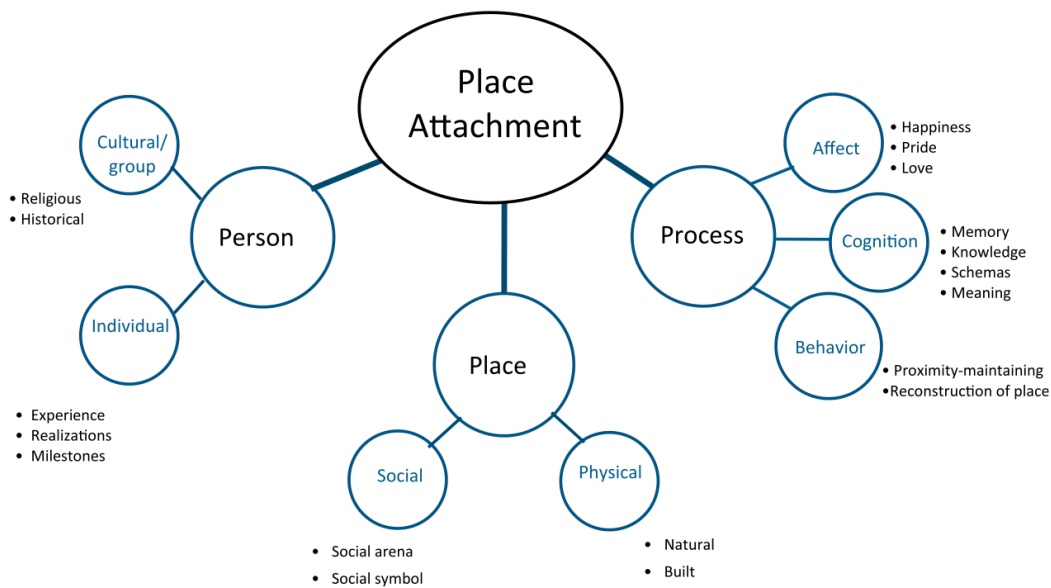
*Place identity* is a term which involves ‘active environmental self-regulation’, ‘emotional attachment’ and the time factor. When Proshansky described this notion in the late 70’s, he identified in it ‘*those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment. While an individual’s place-identity reflects the specific experiences and socialization unique to that individual, place-identity also reflects those experiences common to all individuals and groups of individuals living in particular kinds of settings*’ (Proshansky H. , 1978, p. 155). In other words, the term describes the meanings and significance of a place for its inhabitants or users, and concerns the ‘purpose of helping individuals maintain their self-identity. It is important to stress that in such a definition of place identity, there is space for sound to be associated, particularly as its experiential property is examined in this study. The way the acoustic environment and its elements connect with such ‘ideas, beliefs, preferences, values, goals and behavioural tendencies and skills’ of the listeners appears to be a field worth investigating. Even more intensively, when individuals develop strong bonds with a specific place through its resonance, place dependence is something that could evolve. *Place dependence* is related to ‘*the person’s perceived strength of association with the place*’. It concerns the degree of the emotional bonding to a place that decreases the perceived substitutability of other places (Milligan, 1998).

Both place identity and dependence are aspects that have been studied extensively in relation to place attachment, always with the time factor taken into account, as it is proven that they are able to influence the degree of an individual’s place attachment (Smaldone, 2006). Another aspect of place attachment is the way people are socially bonded and the procedures that take place in terms of interpersonal relationships. Low and Altman (1991) clearly indicate the undoubtful importance of social bonds to place attachment within a place. Within this concept, *interactional past* and *interactional*

*potential* (Milligan, 1998) are elements that can enforce place attachment. The sensory experience, the cultural context or even cognitive procedures are factors which define the nature of place attachment in every case.

Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) describe place attachment as the affective bond of people to places. Hunter (1978) had already associated place attachment to the linkage between an individual and a specific environment. In addition to the plain relationship between the physical environment and the individual, there is another, more complex level of interaction: Milligan suggests that *'place attachment is the emotional link formed by an individual to a physical site that has been given meaning through interaction'*, where *'physical sites become stages for social interaction, stages that are both physically and socially constructed...'* (Milligan, 1998). In reference to these linkages, and to point out the cultural aspect of this bondage, Low discusses the concrete *'kinds of symbolic linkages of people and land', genealogical linkages, loss and destruction, economic, religious and secular and narrative'* (1992, p. 166). Each cultural mechanism shows a unique type of bondage to place while, by making these separations clear, we could more easily explore the relationship between the place and the individual.

Bonds are developed when someone becomes related to a place. Bonds include interactions, either socio-cultural or merely spatial, and form one's attachment to a place. Besides the physical presence, to define the extend of place attachment, it has to be combined and studied together with the senses individuals develop and acquire in a certain environment. As place attachment depends on the human sensory experience, which occurs within the ambiance, the elements or signs that trigger the senses may provoke or weaken the sense of place attachment. It is already shown that social bonds within a place are strong at many levels, while the social environment plays a significant role in place attachment (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Overall, and before proceeding to the challenges created by the existence of sound in places and place attachment, it is important to illustrate the tripartite model of place attachment as created by Scannel and Gifford, where the correlations and the proposed attributes of the main terms become visually clear (2010).



**Figure 1. The tripartite model of place attachment (Scannel & Gifford, 2010, p. 2)**

Social networks within a neighborhood were found capable of promoting individuals and communities (Davidson, 1979). Such links between a person and his/her relevant function within a community are developed in the ambiance of each place. ‘Ambiance’ is a term often used in Sound Studies to describe ‘*the material and moral atmosphere which surrounds a place, a person*’ (Amphoux P. , 2004). In the attempt to connect this term with place attachment, one should focus on the fact that ‘ambiance’ includes both the material and sensory dimensions of how a place is experienced. From all the above, it is clear that the theory of place attachment provides the ground for studying the connection between humans and a given space by measuring two clear factors or types of bonds: the physical and the social.

### **1.5.5 Auditory perspectives on the notion of Place**

Place attachment is closely related to the amount of time an individual has spent around a place: newcomers tend to associate their place attachment with environmental issues, while people who live in a place for longer, shape their connections according to their social relations, too. Both situations, however, concern the concept of a neighborhood where the identification of certain localities is related to the existence of landmarks and soundmarks within the space. This is important since, as mentioned above, soundmarks are the emblematic signal of an acoustic

community through which the latter is shaped and defined. We hear a place, we listen to it, and we also respond to it. Sounds come from certain sources and they identify places, signify or describe meanings, habits or sentiments and, within a certain space - a place -, they form soundmarks. As the place attachment literature review takes the relation between a place and an individual to another level, it would be beneficial to study place, in this context, along with the sound experience (Iscen, 2014). The degree to which such bonds can be developed through sound in a place is not only dependent on the type of place attachment, but also on the nature of the existing sound in the place. In other words, sound itself may form and define part of the place attachment one feels.

As illustrated, place attachment and its dimensions have been widely researched and analyzed in the past. Its main applications concerned the fields of Environmental Psychology, Urban Planning and Design, Landscape Architecture etc. As Soundscape Studies is the main area of interest of the present research, place attachment is used in the benefit of exploring the interrelations between a potential acoustic community and individuals within the sound environment. Both physical and social bonds developed within the community are approached, analysed and correlated to the appropriate soundmarks. However, the role of place attachment here is not used here as to allow the exploration of its aspects in relation to the place of the case study and its inhabitants, but, instead, to constitute a discussion basis for the exploration of the role of sound in the bonds analysed. It is not used as a measurable variable, nor are its dimensions used to analyse psychological features or develop similar correlations. On the contrary, the research utilises some of its aspects/definitions and dimensions to describe the influence of sonic effects on the individuals and discuss the relation between place and sound, from a human-experiential aspect, within the field of Acoustic Communication.

In the study of the aforementioned parameters, the method that can define an acoustic community's attachment to a place is sound ethnography, The exact way this method progresses here is developed in a following chapter.

## **1.6 Acoustic Boundaries**

Having discussed the role of place and space and their establishment, it is important to define the limits they reach in acoustic terms during everyday life. Beginning from the complexity of the landscape, *'although geographers have tended to emphasize the*

*visual aspects of landscape, it is primarily recognized (as with space more generally) as structured by social, material and ideological practices'* (Ford & Brown, 2006, p. 8). The sonic environment already forms by itself a trajectory of sounds within place and reveals interactions among the listeners and their sound-producing actions. Does, however, sound have a barrier? And how is such a barrier defined compared to the visual barriers or obstructions? For example, when a concert takes place in an open-air stadium, the sound may travel some hundreds of meters, even kilometres away from it. However, only the people who have entered the concert place will be having visual contact with the band and the speakers- ie. the sound source of the event. Which factors would define the acoustic boundaries in such a case? Sound has the ability to travel beyond visual barriers and its specific properties appear able to generate such discussions. Combining the knowledge gained from the evolution of Acoustic Ecology, matters concerning the boundaries in this field are worthy of exploration. As overviewed earlier, *'the concept of virtual sonic boundaries leads to a new abstraction, acoustic horizon, the maximum distance between a listener and a source of sound where the sonic event can be heard... The acoustic horizon, also delineates an acoustic arena, a region where listeners are part of a community that shares an ability to hear a sonic event'* (Blessner & Salter, 2007, p. 22). Blessner and Salter, using this concept of the acoustic horizon, discuss the transgressive attributes of sound, which can be observed everywhere in the real environment. In an area where visual barriers – such as big metallic surfaces – would greatly prevent the view of a place's surroundings, sounds –and, especially, loud sounds- would cross such boundaries and resonate in the area; an 'aural' crossing which is quick, easy and instant. The part worth investigating in this case is the fact that specific sounds, rich in cultural content, resonate and travel through the borders, through the air, reaching peoples' ears beyond the human boundaries. Soundmarks, specifically, *'... are important with regards to the acoustic profile of a community and help to define the "acoustic horizon"—the most distant sounds that can be heard in a soundscape—which create an acoustic border for those who live both in and outside the area'* (Schein). What is important, though, in such a debate about the boundaries of sound is the transgressive characteristics it acquires. Its occurrence potentially crosses boundaries and negotiates, right from the beginning, the nature of identities: *'if sounds historically emerge from certain places, they are nevertheless destined to travel in a manner that rapidly exceeds the frontiers imposed by local identities and*

*immediate boundaries... yet localities inscribed in sound do stick out and sometimes remain as though untranslatable* (Chambers, 2008, p. 43).

## **1.7 Epistemology of the Sonic Experience**

Apart from the acoustic communication model and its components, on which a major part of this research is based, it is worth exploring other elements concerning everyday sounds. The developed epistemology of the sonic experience seems capable of providing the theoretic notions and ways of approaching sounds which can be combined with what was already overviewed. To proceed with such an analysis, it is essential to explore other established theoretical perspectives on sound which form what is known as the ‘sonic experience’.

### **1.7.1 Perspectives on Sound (source, signal, object, event, effect, space)**

#### **The ‘Positive Soundscapes Project’ & The ‘CRESSON’ Research Centre**

The inclusive term of soundscape, especially when talking about the urban soundscape easily acquires negative connotations, as noise is frequently present in cities. From its start, Soundscape Ecology wanted to raise awareness about noise and alarm the society about noise pollution. With this concept in mind, the ‘Positive Soundscape Project’ was developed by five UK-based Universities (Salford, Warwick, Manchester Metropolitan and London Arts), wanting, firstly, ‘to acknowledge the relevance of positive soundscapes, to move away from a focus on negative noise and to identify a means whereby the concept of positive soundscapes can effectively be incorporated into planning’, and, secondly, to evaluate ‘the relationship between the acoustic/auditory environment and the responses and behavioural characteristics of people living within it’. (Positive Soundscapes Project, n.d.). The project used interdisciplinary methods and introduced further methods too, as later analysed, to primarily study the listeners’ perception and their attitude towards their soundscape. Labelle sees in the project a target to ‘*create a more ‘holistic’ understanding of how sound participates as a vibrant ingredient within community life*’, and describes it as ‘*trying to encourage more positive understanding of how sound participates and complements experiences of public life*’ (2010, p. 83). The research conducted under the Positive Soundscapes Project has evolved the way soundscape is perceived, often in relation to one’s individual experience, and has introduced a new way of interacting with it, especially using a wide range of

methodologies. A further important achievement of this project is that it re-established the way we experience sound and environmental noise, thus, modernising the notion of soundscape. Another Research Centre, which introduced methodologies and knowledge in the area of Sound Studies is CRESSON, whose research revolves around sonic space and the urban environment. CRESSON *'is a research laboratory reporting to France's Architecture and Heritage Directorate, and located at the Graduate School of Architecture in Grenoble'* (Cresson, n.d.). In contrast with 'The Positive Soundscapes Project', the respective working team in this centre has provided material concerning sound and space in a more urban- and architectural-oriented manner, as many of its researchers are architects. However, in the projects based on this concept, there are indeed references to soundscape, although approached from the aural architectural perspective.

### **Sound (event), the Essence of Soundscape**

The element of sound is the basis for a soundscape. Schafer described it as a sound event (1977, p. 274), and Rodaway commented by adopting a more universal attitude towards it: *'the smallest self-contained particle of a soundscape which can be defined by the human ear. It is a particularly useful term since 'event' refers to something which occurs in a certain place during a particular interval of time. All sound is within a time-space continuum, a series of events, and the sound event beautifully describes the dynamic nature of auditory experience'* (Rodaway, 1994, p. 87).

Subjectively, sound is one individual content messenger which differs from any other and can act independently, while, at the same time, working together with other sounds to create an individual's own, very unique compositions. Then, the individual gives meaning to whatever relates to their compositions which consist of unique sounds, individually. Sound is capable of operating by *'forming links, groupings, and conjunctions that accentuate individual identity as a relational project'* (LaBelle, 2010, p. xxi). In order to be able to refer to these sounds throughout this research, at this point, it is useful to go back to how Schafer (1977) had initially categorized them according to their physical, referential and aesthetic characteristics:

In the physical characteristics, he included the distance from the listener, the volume, the amount of standing out, the kind as hi- or lo-fi, the repetition and its relation to the others, and the reverberation of the space where the sound takes place.

With respect to the referential characteristics, Schafer distinguishes natural sounds, human sounds, sounds and society, mechanical sounds, silence and sounds as

indicators.

Finally, the third category concerns the aesthetic qualities of sound which are quite subjective.

Although the research focuses on an approach that is not strictly soundscape-based, it applies these useful categories deriving from Acoustic Ecology to describe the sounds that comprise the auditory experience and makes use of this categorisation, later on, to elaborate on and classify sounds.

### **Human in the sonic space**

Tuan clarified that an experience is connected to place and space, two terms this research explored above. ““Space” and “place” are familiar words denoting common experiences - we live in space’ (1977, p. 3). To focus, however, on the auditory experience, and having started from the soundscape with the intention to broaden its definition, it seems necessary to emphasise the characteristics influencing the auditory experience. In relation to the auditory experience, Schafer distinguished between ‘Hi-fi’ and ‘Lo-fi’ soundscapes. ‘Hi-fi’ refers to high-fidelity and indicates an environment where *‘sounds may be heard clearly without crowding or masking... Lo-fi environment is one in which signals are overcrowded, resulting in masking or lack of clarity’* (1977, p. 272). Already, the research unfolds parallel to the initial concept of soundscape, as the experience of the listener/sentient is placed in its centre and forms the basis for more complex procedures than those described in Soundscape Ecology. *‘Auditory experience is far more dynamic and the sentient participates within the sonic environment... The soundscape moves with the sentients as they move through the environment and it continually changes with our behavioural interactions. In this sense, one cannot ‘map’ a neighbourhood soundscape—to do so is to suggest a kind of soundscape as object’* (Rodaway, 1994, pp. 86-87). In this chapter, an approach relating to the ways humans experience a sonic space is presented, and, consequently, the formation of the sound experience, as this would be formed by the sentient individually, is discussed. *‘Sound and auditory experience forms a primary sensual matter in continual contact with the body. The sonority of daily life is a deeply impressionable sensing, impinging on thought and feeling in ways that give accent to the shifting self’* (LaBelle, 2010, p. 133). As far as the sound experience itself is concerned, and provided that the overall experience and influence of the space cannot be overviewed, it is necessary to discuss some important sonic parameters that may influence the subject of study.

### 1.7.2 Sonic Effects

Using the definition of hearing, which is described as '*a sensitivity to physical vibration within certain ranges of frequencies and intensities*' (1984, p. 13), as a starting point, one should focus on these characteristics of sound that make it not only noticeable, but also comprehensible, taking its function to the next level: from hearing to listening and understanding, there are well-defined properties that exist and interact in a space, and participate in the nature of the information exchange. This evolution, especially with regards to the sonic experience in an urban environment, can be approached based on the concept of 'sonic effects', as suggested in Augoyard and Torgue's study (2005). The term described further on was coined by researchers at the 'Centre de Recherche sur l' Espace Sonore et l' environment urbain' (CRESSON) in Grenoble, and stressed functional details about the interaction between human and sound in a built environment: buildings, parks, walls, alleys or tunnels define, characterise or identify areas where an approach using sonic effects would be effective. As already mentioned, this concept which is highly connected with the multidimensional term 'ambiance' concerns methods of analyzing and understanding the sound environment as a field of interactions which are not only informational, but also physical, social and cultural. Connecting established characteristics (such as reverberation) of sound that are acceptably present with the conditions or the context under which sonic information exists and circulates, would make it possible to analyse sounds so that they can be studied separately.

This study now proceeds based on the assumption that it is reasonable to wonder about the reason why every sound is considered unique. The sound's properties would possibly be the first answer in mind: physical and cultural characteristics of sound are the assets that make it exceptional, especially when put in a particular context. At a next level, however, it is the environmental and cultural framework, where sounds belong and acquire their meaning, that comes to the foreground. At this point, it is proposed that every sound should be examined according to the properties it acquires in terms of the sonic effects that characterise it.

For the purpose of this research, a reference to the major sonic effects according to this approach is necessary, as effects like the ones described below are often observed in the area, and, therefore, relevant references are made. These effects were extensively explained and described in Agoyard and Torgue's work (2005); however, for the purpose of this study, a special focus is given: the description of these effects

mostly relates them with sociology, everyday culture and the urban soundscape concept.

### ***1.7.2.1 Elementary Effects***

#### **Resonance**

At a first stage, sound acquires the properties of the space it takes place in. Even though, for instance, in everyday language we use ‘resonance’ to refer not only to the reverberated properties of sound, but also to any of its acoustic properties, the sonic effects concept has a set characteristic frequency, energy input, no loss of exterior energy and equality of frequencies to define this effect. This way, it ‘*produces an infinite gain in amplitude*’ (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 99). Resonance is mostly found in interior locations and is created as a consequence of the interaction between the (wall) surfaces and the sound waves. Resonant properties are common in churches, caves or other enclosed spaces, both natural and human-built. The important dimensions of this effect are ‘*the potential for power that sounds possess ... and the capacity to act at a distance using sound as an intermediary*’ (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 108). Amplitude is also related to a ‘resonant’ sound or space. A place that is filled with ‘*sounds of exceptional amplitude*’ (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 109) is also called resonant, an element that results to be useful for the research. Metaphorically, resonance refers to the effect of mind representations.

#### **Reverberation**

Reverberation, which is very much related to Resonance, is defined by Augoyard and Torgue as ‘*a propagation effect in which a sound continues after the cessation of its emission*’ (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 111). It concerns the reflections of the sound on sides within the space, that are added to the direct signal. ‘Echo’ is often the word that people use to describe this effect in everyday life. Reverberation, an effect that indicates volume and large size, is characteristic of urban and architectural systems, where particular reflecting and/or absorbing materials form and shape its nature. It is worth mentioning that there are spatial forms that regulate ‘*significant reverberation in some specific locations: the centre of a circle, the foci of ellipses*’ (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 113). Architects control reverberation with a clever use of materials and of course well-designed construction shapes. In relation to reverberation, James Donald notes the following: ‘*Acousticians in the 1920s would have thought about the link between sound and a specific place less in terms of the audible character or aural*

*experience of a place—Musil’s exile returning to hear an unmistakable Vienna, for instance—than in terms of the reverberation that constitutes the acoustic signal of a particular space or place’* (2007, p. 21). Thompson had already suggested that *‘Reverberation, the lingering over time of residual sound in a space, had always been a direct result of the architecture that created it, a function of both the size of a room and the materials that constituted its surfaces. As such, it sounded the acoustic signature of each particular place, representing the unique character (for better or worse) of the space in which it was heard. With the rise of the modern soundscape this would no longer be the case. Reverberation now became just another kind of noise, unnecessary and best eliminated’* (1988, p. 3). A lack of reverberation can be unpleasant to people, while in a situation where its presence is enforced, a sense of fear is created, or, at least, the listener feels exposed to a form of power (e.g. religion or justice). It is, however, its constant existence that helps people to have a *‘good perception of the sonic space’*. *‘By minimizing reverberation and other unnecessary sounds, the materials created an acoustically efficient environment and engendered efficient behavior in those who worked within it, and began the process by which sound and space would ultimately be separated’* (Thompson, 1988, p. 5).

The notion of sonic effects suggests that reverberation drastically affects our perception: *‘the perception of something or someone beside oneself’, ‘the feeling of collectivity and the sharing of social communication’* and the *‘propensity toward a narcissistic attitude as a sound mirror in situations of individual sound productions’* (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 115).

Socially, people may see reverberation as a sign of seriousness and monumentality, as the presence of this specific sonic effect is evident in temples.

### ***1.7.2.2 Compositional Effects***

#### **Cut Out**

A modification of the amount of reverberation or a change in the envelope of a sound may have a cut out effect: while moving between spaces and locations this effect may accompany movement from an ambience to another. Utterance or conditions of space organization are the two cases where this effect mostly takes place, in which a well-defined and evident change occurs in the surrounding sound ambience. The cut out effect influences the perception of space and time by helping the listener identify different locations. When a listener or a sound object moves, this can have a cut out

effect. According to the case, the effect applies differently to the listener; as in the first case (utterance), the cut out effect will occur by dropping intensity and causing a sonic ambience change, while in the second case (conditions of space organisation), the produced sound will be suddenly masked by the new sound object that has entered in the environment (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, pp. 29-31). The effect is present when transitioning between neighbourhoods (streets) characterised by significant differences in their sound environment, and the effect is intensified even more when the differences that occur are caused by a human-related activity, establishing a soundmark. *‘Individual and collective imagery (or imagination) are easily involved, since the cut out effect can be felt as clearly when a sonic change that is less contrasted on the acoustic level corresponds to a strong social transition’* (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 35). Time and space are, thus, involved in such transitions, as they are the factors influencing the effect in question.

### **Mask**

Differences in the intensity or frequency distribution between sounds may cause the effect of masking, which could concern a priority level that certain sounds acquire when being listened. The masked sound is the one whose intensity is reduced, so it is perceived at a minor level. The presence of the effect is usual in many aspects of communication of everyday life: it is used *‘to communicate (open-plan offices, children’s games); to eliminate a part of what is communicated (in a situations where everything that is said does not necessarily need to be heard, and where the most interesting part is not necessarily what is perfectly audible); to seem as though we are communicating (in situations of conflict, where exchanges become unilateral or are accomplished through a third party); to indicate a refusal to communicate (teenagers’ personal stereos or mopeds)’* (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 72). In the masking effect there are layers of sound that work as a mask, and may ‘cover’, ‘suppress’ or ‘expose’ some attributes of the others. By all means, one should study the masking effect not as something negative, but as an evolution of sound information received during the day that has social effects.

### **1.7.2.3 Mnemo-Perceptive Effects**

#### **Anamnesis**

Anamnesis is an effect during which ‘a past situation or atmosphere is brought back to the listener’s consciousness, provoked by a particular signal or sonic context.

Anamnesis, a semiotic effect is the often involuntary revival of memory caused by listening and the evocative power of sounds' (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 21). The distance and the extent to which the listener expects the sound when it happens are factors that influence the quality of the effect, during which the listener may recall memories of his/her childhood and emotionally intense situations.

It should be noted that sound, perception and memory are the three factors that need to work together for this effect to take place, whereas sound itself is not as important as the listener's perception. Augoyard and Torgue also insist on the archetypal dimension of anamnesis, although its effect is mainly subjective: *'specific sounds can produce common references for a given culture: sounds of flowing water, rain, crackling fire [...] but also sounds of industrial automatic devices, cars, and urban drones. There are many shared backgrounds over which individual perceptions are laid'* (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 23). It is also important to mention that the anamnesis effect is not irrelevant to space and the spatial character of a place where listening takes place: the urban architecture may define the result of the effect, given that the characteristics of sound are so flexible from place to place. *'A single city can also present many coexisting sound ambiances of different historical origins'* (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 25).

### **Synecdoche**

The effect of synecdoche concerns the process of selective listening, which may be observed in all everyday sound behaviours. Synecdoche *'is produced by the determination of a predominant functional criterion, or by adhesion to a cultural schema establishing a hierarchy'* (Attali, 1985, p. 124). The listener is able to focus the attentive listening to the sound that matters, even if other sounds are louder or more characteristic. It is clear that this effect heavily depends on the culture and activity of the listener too, especially if the listener is an inhabitant of a place: while trying to interpret the sound environment which is dominated by sonic symbols, synecdoche allows him/her to structure space at a sonic level, by selecting the sonic information and adapting meaning to it. The place is, then, marked by being associated with sounds.

The relationship between the soundmark itself, defined above, and this effect, is something that should be stressed: *'The soundmark constitutes the sign of a cultural specificity', and by synecdoche 'cultural codecs participate in the structuring of*

*perception, and the valorization of certain sound productions accounts for the condition of a community at a given moment*' (Attali, 1985, p. 126).

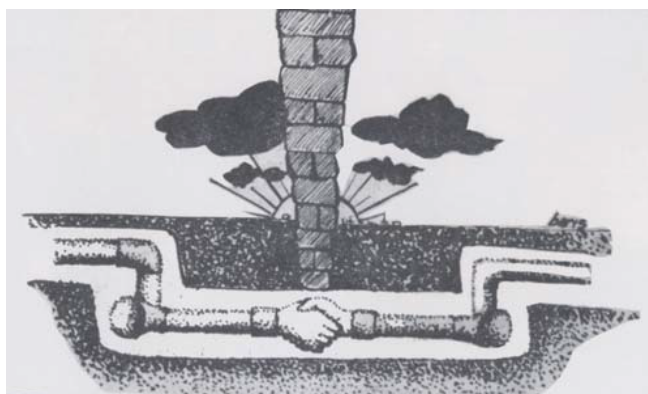
### **1.7.3 Memory and sound**

In order to delve into the sound-related subjects under investigation, it is important to go through the cognitive procedures an individual follows to store and recall them. Provided that an individual's experience is sense-oriented, it cannot exclude the sense of hearing, even more in relation to one's past, as events occur in by-definition sonic environments. *'Because we are rarely conscious of our sensory information stores, it is difficult to appreciate them without some further thought'* (Einstein & McDaniel, 2004, p. 17). In such a case, it should be stressed that experiences and memories are related to sounds and places (Kytö, Remy, & Uimonen, 2012), therefore, these factors should be taken into account. Besides, all such types of relations concern the contemporary discussion around sound. As a consequence, the theoretical background of acoustic communication is now enhanced with factors that influence people's memories and thoughts regarding acoustic information. Also, such a connection acquires an important role in this research as people inevitably connect what they hear to things from the past. After all, it is the total sensory experience which forms the basis for people's remembrances: *'Memory is not merely activated through the visual surveillance of landscape, but by our interrelated perceptual understandings and bodily movements—of being in and engaging with the physical and sensory environment—that includes our aural perception and other sensory outlets'* (Schein). An important function of the human sensorial instruments is 'earwitnessing'. In contrast with eyewitnessing, it uses the ear and its ability to receive sound signals and work as a tool for keeping (sound) events in memory. Birdsall (2009, pp. 169-170) raised its importance as a tool for remembering memories, placing it, on the one hand, next to Schafer's scope of the romantic remembrance and the connection to the past through sounds, and, on the other hand, next to Canetti's (2005) point of view regarding the strict reproduction of past events.

## 2 The case of the Divided City Centre of Nicosia

### 2.1 Introduction

The place where the research takes place is the divided city centre of Nicosia. Having reviewed the theoretical debate around the key concepts of the study, and before focusing on the description and the visual and aural exploration of this area of interest, it is important that some essential information and data are given, so as to present the historical background of Nicosia and reveal the uniqueness of this area. The context on which the study is based greatly defines the approach to be followed. *‘In many ways, Nicosia is the classic example of a divided city- split neatly down the middle by a border that divides the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, who call it respectively Lefkosia (Greek) and Lekosha (Turkish)’* (Bakshi, 2012, p. 3). The data outlined in this chapter, when not bibliographical, result from the methods of observation<sup>3</sup>, soundwalking and/or constitute the product of the first observations made, either by the researcher alone or together with the residents/inhabitants of the area. In order to construct the ethnographic information discussed in this particular subject, the research follows the steps proposed in Crang and Cook’s work, developing specific *‘layers of description, moving from observation, through participation to self-reflection’* (Crang & Cook, pp. 51-52): the location of the ethnographic setting, its physical description, the interactions within it, the author’s participation in the interactions and various reflections, are discussed in the following chapter, before proceeding to the main part of the research.



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<sup>3</sup> The observation took place in July 2013 in the area of interest.

## **Figure 2. 1978: Agreement for the preparation of a common sewerage system<sup>4</sup>.**

### **2.2 Locating an ethnographic setting**

With respect to the wider area where the island of Cyprus is situated, Burke III described it as ‘*a cultural fracture zone whose modern history contains deep structural continuities at the political and cultural levels, even as it displays equally obvious discontinuities, the Mediterranean is the region where Europe, Asia and Africa come together*’ (The Deep Structures of Mediterranean Modernity, 2010, p. 199). This description shapes the setting’s characteristics and sets the background as well as its basic properties: the ethnographic setting is placed in Cyprus, an island in the eastern Mediterranean, which is also an autonomous, although divided, country. The island has a total surface of 9520 sq. km, and is populated by 0.8 million people (Solly, 2012). Political and cultural varieties coexist in an area of a long-existing conflict, creating dynamics among the people, which are potentially explored through ethnography. The specific area of interest is the old/walled city centre of the capital of Cyprus, which is the area where the Green Line of separation passes through, dividing the city and the entire island. The area of study of 190-200ha, including the Buffer Zone is the oldest part of Nicosia, rich in cultural and social heritage. ‘*The Buffer Zone, which cuts across the Walled City in an east-west direction, covering an area of some 18-20ha ...is approximately 1.5km in length and passes through several old neighbourhoods such as Paphos Gate (Porta Domenica), Arabahmed, Karamanzade, Ayios Andreas, Phaneromeni, Selimiye (Ayia Sophia), Arasta (Lokmaci Point), Omeriye, Chrysaliniotissa and Ayios Kassianos*’ (Oktay, 2007, p. 236).

### **2.3 The cultural and sound context in Nicosia, Cyprus**

Keeping in mind the various levels of potential interactions among the theoretical terms explained in the first chapter, and by examining the cultural context of the area of interest, one can realise that the issues which puzzled the study at the beginning might find applications in this specific place. Following this context, sound matters will inevitably evolve when realising this place’s particularity, as stressed in the following lines.

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<sup>4</sup> In 1978, the city’s two mayors arranged the works of the construction of a common sewerage system, as the rain water was flooding the city center. This agreement initiated the Nicosia Master Plan, which for many years involved several common projects (Oktay, 2007).

### 2.3.1 The recent historical context in Cyprus

A brief historical overview will be useful in setting the scene, outlining the political situation in the area and helping the reader understand the context of the research. The framework concerns both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and their everyday life in the area of interest, described below. In this research, the terms ‘Greek Cypriots’ and ‘Turkish Cypriots’ refer to the Cypriot people who live in Cyprus, and the respective side of the city centre of Nicosia; this terminology is generally accepted by the residents of the island.

In Cyprus, before 1974, there used to live Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots and also other mixed minorities everywhere around the island. *‘Cyprus’s total population is about 900,000, of whom about three-fourths are Greek Cypriots and one-fifth Turkish Cypriots. The rest are Maronites, Armenians, and other minorities’* (Bose, 2007, p. 57). The Turkish military intervention<sup>5</sup> on the island of Cyprus in 1974, resulted in the ‘division’ of the island and the exchange of populations: any Turkish Cypriots living in the south had to move to the north and, respectively, Greek Cypriots were forced to the south: members of both communities were obliged to leave their properties and move to the other side of the island. One of the consequences of the war events was the formation of *‘an almost impenetrable frontier between the Turkish Cypriot northern third of the country and the Greek Cypriot south’* (Bose, 2007, p. 56). The entire island was divided and people were not allowed to cross the borders to go to the other side and search for their missing people or visit their lost properties. After the war, the *‘period was marked by numerous initiatives to find a political solution to the conflict acceptable to both communities, as well as efforts for economic recovery from the war’* (Sepos, 2008, p. 28).

The situation remained as such, with the United Nations acquiring the role of the ‘peace-maker’, and people were unable to cross the borders set until 2003, when the checkpoints opened. The situation was moderately changed only after *‘... the sudden but partial opening of the division line in April 2003’* while the *‘Green Line Regulation... would facilitate the movement of persons and goods through the*

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<sup>5</sup> Greek Cypriots and Greeks characterized perceived these war events as the ‘Attila Invasion’. Turkish forces called this intervention ‘Operation Attila’, and Turkish and Turkish Cypriots perceived it as a ‘Peace Operation’. This research uses the UN term ‘military intervention’ to refer to this event. For more information about the events during this period, what the political situation was before, and how it proceeded, the reader is advised to revise Bose’s work (2007). A worthy historical synopsis is also James Ker Lindsay’s text ‘A History of Cyprus Peace Proposal’ (Ker-Lindsay, 2009).

division line of the island’ (Sepos, 2008, p. 99). From that point on, people were allowed to visit the land from which they were banned for 29 years. However, today, the political situation is still unresolved, and Cyprus remains divided. Along with the military intervention, the Green Line was ‘established’ and drawn on the map of the island to indicate the new borderlines between north and south, which would define this division that persists until the present day.



**Figure 3. Map of Divided Cyprus (Map)**

### 2.3.2 The Green Line and Nicosia

The Green Line, an area with many other names (No Man’s Land/Buffer Zone/Dead Zone) too, is administered by the United Nations. Sumantra Bose in his description defines the Green Line as ‘a focal point of contention, where one or more of the parties to the conflict do not agree with the trajectory or even the very legitimacy of those lines as political boundaries’ (2007, p. 2). Its character is unique, as it constitutes a border characterised as ‘soft’, in contrast to ‘a hard line of separation. Even so, any passage across the Line in Cyprus’s divided capital city, Nicosia, conveys the unmistakable sense of an unresolved conflict suspended in limbo—the Greek and Turkish Cypriot police posts a few hundred meters apart, the visible presence of UN soldiers whose headquarters in the Ledra Palace Hotel straddle the

*Line, the propaganda posters and hoardings displayed by both sides near their respective checkpoints, and above all, the huge Greek national and Greek Cypriot flags and Turkish national and Turkish Cypriot flags that demarcate what Turkish Cypriots call “south Cyprus” from the entity Greek Cypriots refer to as the “pseudo-state” in the north’* (2007, pp. 57-58). Historically, the Green-Line was ‘designed’ before 1974: ‘*The Green Line, whose name originated in Nicosia during communal violence in 1958 when a British administrator drew a line on a map of the city with a green crayon to identify the “front line,” became an iron curtain of 220 kilometers running horizontally across Cyprus’* (Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus and Sri Lanka, 2007, p. 88).

Therefore, since 1974, the city centre of Nicosia is divided with the help of this ‘wall’, which does not, however, necessarily consist of a concrete built construction. Instead, this ‘iron curtain’ is a mixture of various roadblocks, consisted of barriers of different types that were placed there to create the boundaries dividing the city, as well as the ethnic communities which live across it. In this study, these barriers are often mentioned as the ‘wall’, since the area’s residents also refer to these in this manner. The walled<sup>6</sup> city of Nicosia in Cyprus is also divided, since the Green Line crosses its city centre. The inhabitants mostly belong to the Greek Cypriot or the Turkish Cypriot community, and the Green Line also functions as a separating line between the national communities. Along with these, other ethnic communities, which could also question the signification of the term ‘minorities’ inhabit in the area. According to UNOPS (2004) statistics, ‘*A large portion of the walled city consists of areas of low-income housing, generally occupied by migrants, overlapping with areas of dilapidation... In the predominantly Greek-Cypriot south 55 percent of the old city’s population is composed of migrants, and in the north this number jumps to nearly 70 percent’* (Bakshi, 2012, p. 6). The double barrier which stands in the city of Nicosia to date, creates a roadblock along the city centre which defines the limits of each of its parts. Furthermore, the area which lies between the double line defines this buffer zone, an area where nobody used to live until recently, as its residents had abandoned their places in the days of the conflict. This desert area has been ruled by the United Nations since then, and although some Non Governmental Organisations and other Associations for Peace in Cyprus are now based in this zone along Nicosia,

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<sup>6</sup> The walls of Nicosia are Venetian; they were built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and were repaired by the Ottomans. (The Medieval Walls of Lefkosia)

e.g. at the crossing point of 'Ledra Palace Hotel', the character of this particular area in the city centre is deserted. An exception in this desert character is the crossing point in Ledras' Street, which stands out in a cosmopolitan contemporary semi-urban environment due to daily circulation of people taking place.

As the research concerns the interactions within the community living in the city centre, rather than those between the national communities, as it is extensively discussed further on, all emerging data which concern national issues may be approached as such only after the end of the investigation. However, as the subject is discussed under the field of Acoustic Communication, the historical references regarding the conflict and the Cyprus Dispute found in the study are only those essentials for the reader to be able to follow.

With respect to the evolution of the cultural context in the area, it is evident that the qualities of the sonic environment changed similarly during the described evolving dynamics of the place. Especially, when considering that the Dead Zone used to be Ermou Street - a street of commerce, full of markets and shops in the past -, it is evident that the rapid developments correspond to rapid changes in the sound: from the vivid human-oriented everyday life sounds, as well as the nature sounds and silence, to the brief soundscape of the war events which divided the two sound-eras. After 1974, new sounds appear to have dominated certain parts of the space in question, also due to the industrial and technological evolution. It is a fact, however, that a lively resonant part of the city centre that was filled with sound turned silent due to the wall/roadblock construction and the violent evacuation of this place.

### **2.3.3 The City Centre**

To delve into the given cultural and sound context, and before proceeding to the main stages of the research conducted, it is necessary to describe the area in more detail, so that the complex interrelations which may evolve within this place's resonance can be implied.

#### ***2.3.3.1 A first description of the Area***

The zone between the two parts of the city is restricted. As Papadakis lyrically describes: *'In Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, walls appear abruptly in the middle of the road. A Dead Zone cuts it in two. Only the excrement in the sewers beneath Nicosia has gained the unquestionable right of free movement'* (Echoes of the Dead Zone, 2005, p. XIII). Sound, also, a listener might add. The wall/roadblock in Nicosia

is characteristic of the city, a symbol of memory, a signal of war, the indicator of a separation, which, even if its use as a barrier prevents movement, it allows many everyday life sounds to travel from one part of the city to the other.

In the literature about old Nicosia, certain images are vividly portrayed, thus describing detailed qualities of the scenery, while also creating 'noisy' images. Severis describes the everyday life of the city centre of Nicosia of the past: *'During the interwar years...the streets were full of people who mixed with each other and traded amongst themselves. The island produced its own fresh fruit and vegetables and the hard working Cypriots developed into skillful craftsmen. In the narrow streets the Cypriot women exchanged the latest gossip; at the fountains they watched the belle go by; they hastened to buy a broom competing at whose yard would be best cleaned, they ran after the tinker, or secretly asked the gypsy to tell them their fortune, at the same time threatening their children that, unless they behaved, she would snatch them away. During the hot days of summer the Turkish peddlers did good business selling refreshing ayran and sulu muhallebi; during cold winter days hot salep. The gentlemen of Nicosia had their shoes shined at Metaxa square, treated themselves to a piece of halva or a fresh bread roll covered in sesame. A poor soul sold paper icons of saints in the streets hoping to save the world, while the street mistrel sang about the latest murder of honour or love. His voice competed with the blind hodja's who, from high above called the Moslems to prayer... Few heard either... At night one could hear the pesvantis's whistle and his heavy footsteps crossing the town...'* (Severis, 2003). Gossip, chatters, fountains and street vendor calls along with the religious call of the hodja were some of the sounds which seemed to comprise the lively soundscapes of these activities. Nicosia, up to this day, is a place rich in sounds. To be more precise, it is a place, where human sounds denote a vivid everyday activities and set a basis for the development of strong bonds among their producers, as its identity acquires unique characteristics. Keeping these images in mind, the sound references of one specific area in Nicosia's city centre are representative and could give more life to the description. For the area of Saint Kassianos, Jacque Lacarrière, comments from within the buffer zone on the existence of a small 'forest' in the area, with green plants that have taken over the asphalt or dust from the small streets in the buffer zone, and then he reports referring to the sounding city: *'although we are very close to the fortification that separates the old from the new city, the sounds of the contemporary city are heard in a tinny way'*

(Nicosia: The Dead Zone, 2003, pp. 21-22) (own translation). This is an indicator that is encountered again along the research, as the old city centre is proven to mask the sound of the contemporary everyday city life and acquire other qualities. This can also be observed in another neighbourhood of the area of interest, Paphos' Gate, which Lacarrière, while coming out of the buffer zone, describes as '*... the spot from which someone can see the whole Turkish side of the city and the two minares of the old church of Aghia Sofia, where one can very clearly notice the noises, the hum, the echo and the whispers of the Greek Nicosia. These sounds are telling, whispering or shouting at us, declaring our exit of the land of the shadows*' (Lacarrière, 2003, pp. 75-76) (own translation).

### **2.3.3.2 The Dead Zone**

*'Unlike the Berlin Wall or Belfast's Peace Walls, there is no visual barrier to what lies beyond: the ruins compose its visual skeleton. Its edges are demarcated by a varied composition of walls, fences, sand bags, barrels and empty buildings'* (Bakshi, 2012, p. 6). Close to the buffer zone, and even more, inside the buffer zone, or the Dead Zone as it is called, there are spots where silence is intensively present. As Tonkkis poetically discussed, *'if every sound and everything in the city has its silence, so silence gains its quality from a larger geography of sound. Empty space that doesn't talk back is as evocative as the hush that falls over the crowd, the telephone that doesn't ring, the dog that doesn't bark'* (Tonkiss, 2003, p. 309). This is a significantly empty space, where the sound of the city stays behind and the silent remains of the sound of a painful conflict emerge, along with the everyday sounds coming from the north and south part of the city. There is a strange feeling when entering the Dead Zone, at least while crossing it through the UN control path. The aural experience acquires distinctive characteristics: Lacarrière uses the metaphor of sound to refer to the buffer zone, mentioning human sounds that have left their marks in time: *'in Vezuivius' Pompeii, the screams of the inhabitants that were caught by the ejected lava, the prays of the dead have been mute for many years. But in this Nicosian Pompeii, the screams, the complaints and the prays never stopped. They are present, just as the facades-ghosts, like the ghosts' hollow sounds that the wind amplifies when circulated in the inside of abandoned buildings.... For now there is silence, abandonment and death...'* (Lacarrière, 2003, pp. 33-36) (own translation).

### 2.3.3.3 Soundmarks

#### (a) Religious Soundmarks

It is important to, firstly, describe the two main religious soundmarks which are characteristic of the area. The community within this area is marked by the sound of the Islamic call to prayer and the church bells, symbol of Christianity. Not only this, their resonance is amplified by loudspeakers, placed outside mosques and churches, respectively. In such cases, the loudspeaker has '*become essential in the traditional call to prayer, a remarkable juxtaposition of high media technology and conservative religious practice*' (Lee, 2006, p. 199). To whom, are these sounds addressed, though? The members of the ethnic communities living in Nicosia are mostly Christians or Muslims. Thus, each community's religious symbols resonate in the city centre. Moreover, these sounds, loud as they are through the speakers, have the capacity to travel across the borders and 'amplify' their fluidity. Whenever the imam calls for prayer, or whenever the church's bells or the priest's byzantine hymn are heard in the area, their sounds are audible throughout the whole city centre along the Dead Zone. A strange sentiment when exposed to both sounds can be felt by the listener, whichever side s/he is on, especially when visiting the place for the first time. Papadakis in the chapter 'Church Bells and the Hoja's Call' describes: '*Tahtakallas was so close to the Dead Zone that one often heard sounds from occupied Lefkosia. In the late afternoons it was common to hear the church bells on our side, together with the hoja's calling on the other. A battle was being waged over who would dominate the soundscape. Churches had loudspeakers pointing to the occupied north and the mosques had them pointing towards the free south*' (Papadakis, 2005, p. 50).

After an external observer's careful listening of the area, it becomes obvious that the voice of the imam and the bell sounds from the Christian churches along the borderline form significant sound elements of the sonic environment of the old city of Nicosia. Their cultural value is strong, as they symbolise an entire religious and national identity, and it could be suggested that, when heard, they surely dominate the soundscape of the acoustic community living therein.

As far as sound qualities are concerned, it is not only the symbolisation that differs, but also the nature of sound: The Greek Cypriot bell generates a rough, melodic and, at the same time, metallic sound that may vary in its tonalities: it creates melody when ringing for a wedding or a saint's name day, or a paced, stable rhythm with no variations when telling the time or accompanying a funeral; these are characteristic

sound occurrences which unite the whole community around them, signifying respective actions and values. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot sonic element is a live voice, which varies in tonality already by definition, as it is a person who sings: the imam sings to pray, using a very distinctive byzantine music-oriented way of singing, with no other instruments or sound elements. The voice is what dominates the soundscape. It is important, before studying the sound of the church bell or any other such soundmark, to place them in the contemporary context.

#### - Church Bells

A church bell is a sound that is traditionally the same and through time has remained as such –its sound has been signifying the church bell itself, although in the contemporary era, more and more bells resonate electronically, with the help of loudspeakers, as in the case of Nicosia. Church bells sound to indicate events (e.g. marriages or funerals), religious ceremonies and other church-related procedures that take place within the Christian community. Church celebration days and, also, special events are many times the reason why church bells sound in the city: with their sound, they connect the world with the divine through time and space, by creating a distinctive aural experience. Besides, it has been supported that community and individual identity construction is supported by the ringing of bells (Corbin, 1998). In an everyday context, though, communication, prayers, or different types of information are procedures that are marked by the bells in an acoustic community. This community's variation, particularly creates several patterns in the way it connects to them. *'Although the bells may have the same intensity, pitch, and timbre now as then, the social and cultural meaning of their sound is now dramatically different: hearing them, modern listeners do not have the same experience of social inclusion'* (Blessner & Salter, 2007, p. 68). In relation to sound's evolution in time, Schafer also notes, that *'throughout Christendom the divine was signaled by the church bell. It is a later development of the same clamorous urge, which had earlier been expressed in chanting and rattling... The most salient sound signal in the Christian community is the church bell. In a very real sense it defines the community, for the parish is an acoustic space, circumscribed by the range of the church bell. The church bell is a centipetal sound; it attracts and unifies the community in a social sense, just as it draws man and God together'* (1977, pp. 52-54).

#### - The Call to Prayer

The other important sound resonating in the divided city centre is the hodja's call to prayer. *'The islamic call to prayer, otherwise known as the adhan (or azan), is recited five times a day from every mosque to inform Muslims of the prayer times, namely Subuh (before dawn), Zuhur (noon), Asar (late afternoon), Maghrib (after sunset), and Isyak (evening)... As a social phenomenon, the adhan unifies and regulates the Islamic community by marking the times for prayer and creating a sacred context that obligates a specific religious response. Upon hearing the adhan, Muslims are obliged to put aside all mundane affairs and respond to the call physically and spiritually'* (Lee, p. 199). As one could guess, although the imam does, indeed, call for prayer five times per day, in the contemporary Nicosia it is very rare to observe the described effect on the believers.

Lee also reports that *'once exclusive to Islamic rural communities, the sacred acoustic environment of the amplified call to prayer was ... "inhabited" by non-Muslims'* (Lee, p. 200). It is the pray of the imam that is heard across the Muslim community and the whole of Nicosia, forming a soundmark of the area. *'It is a temporality that has been heard regularly, five times a day, for fifteen centuries, throughout most of the world, from a human voice from the top of minarets. To Muslims this is more powerful than mechanical and digital clocks and more meaningful than other calendars'* (Guindi, 2008, p. 86). However, as the research is about to show, in this case also mechanical elements are also used in the area of interest.

An explanation about the procedure followed when the call for prayer is heard is provided by Guindi: *'For praying singly, although desirable, Muslims do not necessarily have to interrupt their routine activity upon hearing the call for prayer, since there is a period of several hours during which a Muslim can perform each particular prayer. But even when engaged in ordinary conversation, a Muslim interacts with the call chant the instant it is heard: he/she recognizes the call by saying to oneself prescribed phrases as a response to different segments of the call, intermittently resuming ordinary conversation. For example, upon hearing "Allahu Akbar" the person would say "Allah-u A'tham wal 'Izzatu lillah" (God is supreme, Glory be to him). This and other phrases are spoken intermittently throughout the call in normal speech style, but with a different demeanor'* (2008, p. 135).

However, this particular acoustic environment has also been observed in other places: *'It is reported that the sounds of the call to prayer and church bells mingled amiable for centuries in Bosnia, with its mixed Muslim and Christian population'* (Kiser &

Lubman, p. 5514). Both soundmarks theoretically create acoustic communities around them, while bringing together the religious community around a unique and special sound.

It has been shown in the previous chapters that people develop an attachment with a place by developing bonds with certain cultural elements - whether these are people or actions. Such sound occurrences may also develop dynamic interrelations with other, symbolic events, such as the resonance of religious soundmarks. To enhance this argument, to this, Mazumdar and Mazumdar commented that '*people develop attachment to sacred cities and sacred structures, in addition to natural places*' (Religion and Place Attachment: A study of sacred places, 2004, p. 394). In relation to the specific sound examined here, Said quotes the following in his work: '*In this prevailing calm, the call for prayer changes the sonic stillness of the residential areas giving it a specific rhythm. Being described as "melody" launched in the soundscape, this term indicates the quality of the chosen person to launch the call turning it into an agreeable experience...*' (Said, 2010, p. 7).

In this respect, it is important to investigate the way place attachment develops among these structures, as the aforementioned soundmarks not only change the soundscape and the listeners' experience, but also form a dynamic, religion-oriented part of the overall experience in a given place.

#### (b) Other Soundmarks

There are more than merely these sounds characterising the area and contributing to the formation of an acoustic community. The sounds of a busy neighborhood preparing food or sweets, people selling ayran in the streets and other actions of a neighborhood with rural characteristics are audible in the area. Moreover, over time the street vendor calls have especially dominated the soundscape of the city centre (Papadakis, 2005, p. 50). As it will be shown, such voices still exist and appear to claim potential acoustic communities exposed to them. The way in which such soundmarks function within this context, however, depends on the forms that buildings have, the narrow or wide streets and the alleys which give to the sounds certain properties.

#### **2.3.3.4 Aural Architecture**

One cannot examine the resonance of an area and the effects of its sounds without having an idea about its architectural identity. Thus, at this point the structure of the

whole area is presented, with an emphasis on the buildings in which the sonic environment is created.

#### (a) A common Architectural Structure

Although the place under study is divided, it appears that the architectural structure is similar. Historically, in the area *'more piecemeal and locally grounded attempts at rapprochement occurred fitfully. In the late 1970s the mayors of the two sides of Nicosia, both political moderates, decided to cooperate on an essential necessity—a joint sewerage system for the divided city, which became operational in May 1980. The success of the subterranean enterprise encouraged the duo to bring together a bicommunal team of scholars, architects, and urban planners who in the late 1980s formulated a "Nicosia Master Plan," a scheme for cooperative regeneration of the city. The plan has two scenarios—one with the Green Line, the other without. The two mayors traveled together to Venice to seek funding for the restoration of the Venetian old town's walls—this pre-Ottoman old town is bisected by the Green Line—and to divided Berlin. Some elements of the master plan have been implemented over the years, but the full realization of its vision awaits a Cyprus settlement'* (Bose, 2007, p. 89). The intention for common architectural aesthetics in the entire city centre of Nicosia has been a priority since the 70s. It is a fact, that a visitor of the area can recognize this intention with his/her own eyes. Were there no boundaries, the city's architectural and cultural character –as shown later- would naturally reveal its structural unity more easily. Accordingly, the existing sounds fall on similar surfaces in both sides, and acquire respectively similar qualities.

#### (b)The Buildings

The buildings in the area are mainly of one or two floors. Rock, wood and metal are elements that the majority of buildings are made of.

- The biggest part of the road-network is asphalt. Other, smaller streets are either dirt roads or asphalt covered with dust. The resonance of the sounds of cars and people's activities takes place on these surfaces. Little rocks on the roads add a 'crispy' feeling to the sounds a listener perceives.

- In some areas, there are houses that have an inner space-yard. This results in them occupying more space, keeping the area quieter and evoking areas with more rural sounds.

- In the area, there are churches characterised by the classic inner dome, a distinct architectural structure that attributes wet acoustic properties to the place. Churches do

have their own yard, therefore, sonically they too manage to isolate themselves from the rest of the traffic noise. There are plenty of such churches in the area, and the space they occupy is characterised accordingly; these are also the creators, in their role as sources, as well as the resonators, in their role as spaces, of the soundmarks: the imam's praying or the bells are amplified in the areas around.

- There are two closed markets, which acquire wet acoustic properties when they are full of people, buyers and sellers, and dry acoustic properties on Sundays and holidays, when markets are closed.

- There are shops found on the ground floor of many buildings. The sounds coming from the activities taking place inside pharmacies, souvenir shops, workhouses etc. create the unique sound tapestry of the old city. This is enhanced when the temperatures are high, that is during the majority of the year, as the doors and windows are open, allowing the sound to circulate between the inner and outer spaces.

- There are bars/restaurants, cafes, taverns which are places that people visit and enjoy themselves in. Such areas are usually lively in terms of sound, where music, as well as the sounds of people and their activities there make their presence. This way, they create more human-oriented noisy sources in the map of the city.

- In the area that lies in the buffer zone between the two parts of the city, there are abandoned buildings which used to be either residences or shops before the 1974 invasion. Relics of abandoned houses, many of them half-demolished either during the war events or with the passing of time, identify this common architectural structure which appears to be the same throughout the whole walled city.

At the borders of the old city, the landscape becomes more urban and so does the soundscape. There are new, multi-leveled buildings that are constructed in a more modern way, so that the aural architecture evokes that of many European, busy cities.

#### **2.4 A Sound study on a divided capital**

With respect to the city centre of Nicosia, it has been claimed that '*apparently the two city centres reject the existence of the limit and create enclaves of tolerance for the tourist flux around the check point passage of Ledra street. Perceiving the space through this kind of itinerary and through the official interventions of the public urban policies, we have the impression of a city denying the limit and turning its back to it. From this point of view the border is invisible, it can always be avoided and hidden to one's sight*' (Gatta, 2011, p. 20). Taking into consideration the historical,

ethnic and architectural particularity of the area along with the above mentioned sonic features of the divided city of Nicosia, it is crucial to outline a number of key points which will enable us to adequately present the methodological considerations and which justify the specific tools used:

- the area is characterised by the resonance of different religious soundmarks, as well as by several other soundmarks, rich in cultural meaning. How is such a coexistence regarded by the ethnic communities living in this area and, more generally, the acoustic community as a whole?
- the area portrays a constant conflict, that although in decline, it is evident that it may influence the way people are attached to their place. In which way would sound have an impact on their attachment?
- The way in which the architectural identity of the old city centre is formed, creates a number of different acoustic properties, attributing a special (architectural) identity to the sound occurrences taking place within this area.

How do these resonate in the listeners' ears within a walled city?

In order to analyse the aforementioned relations between the key points, the research methods will be presented in the following chapter. Nonetheless, it is crucial to investigate whether the existing methodological tools are appropriate in order to be used in such a particular and special case like the old city centre of Nicosia. For instance, the way in which sonic effects are created and the way in which they function within the field of acoustic communication study methods, might be further developed when applied to this divided place, where a potential acoustic community under study resides.

### **3 Methodological Considerations**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the formation, development and finalisation of the shaping of the research questions are revealed. After an introduction to Ethnography and the exploration of ethnographical issues related to the study, the exact methods used herein are extensively explained and the methodological aspects which concern the research questions are discussed. At a next level, the methodology followed to explore these questions is introduced, investigated and further analysed to achieve a detailed description before it is put into practice. The tool for exploring the research questions is shaped, and, finally, the results of the pilot study are presented, while the form of the final research design is finalised, after adopting the necessary changes.

#### **3.2 Defining the Research Questions**

While defining the research questions, numerous situations and facts took place which identified details that had to be taken into consideration. In this chapter, such occurrences are presented and facilitate the generation of an outline of the research questions; this way, the methodology described in the following part is accordingly justified, and the research design is finally set. Keeping the density of the soundscape of the city centre of Nicosia in mind, the research questions were shaped after hours of observation and listening in the area, in addition to the literature review conducted. The research proceeds by following the connection and underlining the interrelation of the three main thematic fields sound-place-human discussed in the first chapter, while trying to focus on the issues mentioned in its last part.

As already clarified, one of the main intentions of the research was to explore the soundscape of the city centre of Nicosia and develop a study about the entire community of people living in this particular area. At a next level, tracing common ‘acoustic’ characteristics resulted helpful in shaping the main question and sub-questions. Although the place involves two clearly separated ethnic communities, (and at a second level, even more but less spatially described communities such as migrants/inhabitants<sup>7</sup> or tourists), the research proceeds by examining both groups’ listening procedures on the basis of sound. Taking advantage of the locality as a stable

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<sup>7</sup> In the southern part migrants mostly come from the Middle East, the Far East or from the Former Eastern Block, while the northern part includes many Turkish settlers and women from the former Eastern Block (Oktay, 2007).

background for this method, it appears appropriate to explore whether such common elements can be found. The explored interconnection between sound and place attachment regarding the auditory experience appears in this occasion as the key concept in defining the questions.

According to the theoretical background and considering the singularity of the soundscape of the city centre of Nicosia, a remarkable space for researching the aforementioned terms seems to be available. Therefore, before introducing the methodology available and the issues raised on the acoustic space of the area of interest, the main research question explored using the methodology presented in this chapter is defined as follows:

*How does the Community of the city centre of Nicosia give meaning to the sounds of the area?*

By breaking down the question to its elements and with reference to what has been discussed in the theoretical background, the members of the entire community of the city centre of Nicosia interact with the sounds they are exposed to and develop reactions to them. By doing so, they presumably develop levels of place attachment, where a place is defined spatially by the geographical and social bonds, as well as other dynamics which need to be studied. Furthermore, the end of the research discovers and concludes whether such a united acoustic community - exposed to same or similar sounds – does exist in this particular case. As a result, to explore the overarching research question, it is necessary to answer more questions, targeting such issues specifically; as an acoustic community is defined by its soundmarks, the necessity to reply to the following question is evident:

- *Which are the soundmarks of the borderline of the city of Nicosia?*

The sounds which are characteristic of one place can be of many kinds and Acoustic Ecology has, indeed adopted accurate and sufficient definitions to describe these. Nevertheless, the importance of various types of sound in a place can relate to the subjectivity of the inhabitants of each area: what might seem important to certain members of the community could appear insignificant to others. Thus, by also taking account of the parameters defining place attachment, the research sets the second sub-question:

- *How is place attachment formed through the soundmarks?*

To adequately reply to the above sub-question and cover the overarching question, it is deemed that a third sub-question needs to be explored so as to fill any gaps created by the first two:

- *How is the community defined by the soundmarks/soundscape?*

By investigating the details of the individual community members' relation to the sonic information they are exposed to, the research wishes to fill any potential gaps that could be generated in relation to the comprehensive exploration of the main question, and, thus, ensure the safety to proceed with the methodology and the design. Having defined the sub-questions in the above manner, the methods used to approach these issues are at this point presented below. The research questions are discussed more extensively and comparatively with the methodology at the end of this part, after reviewing the methodological tools to be used and presenting the results of the pilot study.

### **3.3 Ethnographic Research**

The research uses ethnography to approach the concepts under study and explore the possible answers to the research questions, and, consequently, the possible discussion their elaboration would generate. Before proceeding, however, it appears essential to overview the meaning of ethnography and reveal some of the theoretical and practical aspects defining it.

#### **3.3.1 What is Ethnography?**

An approach that the current study follows to define ethnography is the definition of Brewer: *'Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally'* (Ethnography, 2000, p. 10). Brewer specifically suggests that people are placed in the centre of the research and their everyday actions are being observed by the ethnographer, systematically. With the term including the cultural element in its name, and while raising the importance of the ethnographer's experience, Murchison in his definition stresses: *'Ethnography is a research strategy*

*that allows researchers to explore and examine the cultures and societies that are a fundamental part of the human experience. Unlike many other scientific research strategies, the ethnographer as researcher is not typically a detached or uninvolved observer. The ethnographer collects data and gains insight through firsthand involvement with research subjects or informants. With few exceptions, the ethnographer conducts research by interacting with other human beings that are part of the study; this interaction takes many forms, from conversations and interviews to shared ritual and emotional experiences'* (Ethnography Essentials: Designing, Conducting, and Presenting your Research, 2010, p. 4). The necessary action of observation and participation is also stressed by Crang & Cook in their comment on ethnography: *'ethnography is ... defined as participant observation plus any other appropriate methods/ techniques/etc. including statistics, modelling and/or archive work if they are appropriate for the topic'* (Doing Ethnographies, 2007, p. 35). Additionally, to Murchison, participation is a factor which lights up the research and attributes a special meaning to it: *'Ethnographies are full of accounts of daily life in different communities, as well as stories of ethnographers' experiences of integration into these communities...'* (Murchison, 2010, p. 12). Furthermore, if Gobo's interpretation that *'ethnographic methodology gives priority to observation as its primary source of information'* (Doing Ethnography, 2008, p. 5) is taken into account, it is evident that the method evolves on the basis of observation and participation, and it is practiced using these specific tools as effective and methodological. Indeed, for this case, Gobo stresses the existence of two research strategies: non-participant and participant observation. In this research, as the investigator is a foreigner in the field of study, the participation concerns mainly his interactions with the participants. However, systematic participation is what will prove, in the following stages a useful tool of exploring the context under study.

Sound, as argued in the theoretical background, by its nature, during and after its reception by the human ear, includes complicated social meanings, as the definition outlines. Soundmarks may not only be characteristic of ordinary activities, but also play an important role in an acoustic community's everyday life. At the same time, it is the human-listener who forms an auditory experience in a particular space, setting and activity. In this case, as in most cases in ethnography, fieldwork needs to be elaborated, and it appears that ethnography offers the necessary tools to conduct this type of research. Burgess supported that *'field research involves the study of real-life*

*situations. Field researchers therefore observe people in the settings in which they live, and participate in their day-to-day activities. The methods that can be used in these studies are unstructured, flexible and open-ended* (Field Research: a Sourcebook and Field Manual, 1982, p. 15). These methods, as shown below, are the ones that discuss the research questions extensively. In addition, Brewer, commenting on the need for a variety of techniques and methods encouraged in ethnography, noted that *'it is unsound to equate ethnography with one particular technique of data collection, say participant observation, although this may be one of the principal methods of data collection in ethnography'* (Ethnography, 2000, p. 18). What must be stressed in this case remains not only the fact that there are many ways and methods to practice ethnography, but also that these can and must be collaboratively connected. For the conduction and finalisation of this research, this collaboration appears to have generated precious results and information to critically consider. It has been pointed out that the ethnographic study must take place in everyday contexts instead of unnatural conditions, which the researcher might have created (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Also, data should be primarily collected by means of observation, and the collection is flexible and unstructured so that pre-fixed categories are not imposed to what people say. Finally, it is argued that *'the focus is normally on a single setting or group and is small-scale... (and) the analysis of the data involves attribution of the meanings of the human actions described and explained'* (Brewer, 2000, p. 19).

*'Ethnography is not simply 'data collection'; it is rich in implicit theories of culture, society and the individual'* (Agar, 1980, p. 23). Additionally, Brewer argued that *'Ethnography tends to rely on a number of particular data collection techniques, such as naturalistic observation, documentary analysis and in-depth interviews'* (Ethnography, 2000, p. 27).

Having reviewed essential characteristics of ethnography, it would be reasonable to claim that it appears to be an ideal tool to approach the research questions set in the beginning of this chapter. In ethnography, the collection of data needs to be made in a systematic way, clearly without imposing any meaning to them. Such an approach would mean that participation takes place and is used for data collection, and not data manipulation. Before explaining the process to be followed in this case, it is important to place it in the correct framework, which includes the term 'fieldwork'.

### 3.3.2 Fieldwork

The term fieldwork, as the word implies, includes any necessary actions of the ongoing research that take place in the area of interest. *'Among social anthropologists fieldwork is synonymous with the collection of data using observational methods'* (Burgess, 1982, p. 2). At this point, it appears crucial to stress the importance of the element of observation, which describes a major part of fieldwork, and ethnography too, as shown above. *'Fieldwork is the most characteristic element of any ethnographic research design. This approach shapes the design of all ethnographic work'*; in this case, the information is gathered inductively and as Fetterman supports, *'geographical and conceptual boundaries' become clear* (Fetterman, 2010, p. 8). In this specific research, and having reviewed the theoretical approach to the concept of place, fieldwork appears to be an ideal tool to study its properties. Cresswell could have not agreed more on this: *'When it comes to place, life is fieldwork. The world itself is the best kind of resource for thinking about place'* (Cresswell, 2004, p. 125). To a great extent, it is the fieldwork which will generate information about the terms under study: when the appropriate fieldwork is done, the formal analysis needs to be conducted, where the *'researcher synthesizes ideas and often makes logical leaps that lead to useful insights'* (Fetterman, 2010, p. 10).

Brewer stated that *'to access social meanings, observe behavior and work closely with informants several methods of data collection are relevant, such as participant observation, in- depth interviewing, the use of personal documents and discourse analyses of natural language'* (Ethnography, 2000, p. 59). It was decided, in accordance with the research question, that this research would use a method close to systematic observation, in the very specific form of 'soundwalking' and in-depth interviewing. Before analysing the method of soundwalking itself, it is essential to present the classic methods mentioned in the present study.

### 3.3.3 Participant and Systematic Observation

Gobo has set some attributes to describe participant observation, so as to differentiate it from non-participant observation. More precisely, he supports that in the case of participant observation, *'the researcher establishes a direct relationship with the social actors, he/she stays in their natural environment, with the purpose of observing and describing their behavior, by interacting with them and participating in their everyday ceremonials and rituals and learning their code in order to understand the*

*meaning of their actions*' (Gobo, 2008, p. 5). Brewer, at the same time, supported the existence of two ways of using participant observation in Social Sciences: *'to understand the world as it is seen by those acting within it; and to reveal the taken-for-granted, common-sense nature of that everyday world itself'* (Ethnography, 2000, p. 60). Observation appears to consist of great tools to be used in this study, as the investigator is presented with the opportunity to approach the place and (ear-)witness the environment him/herself, and, at a next level, to reflect on the sound information, including its non-obvious elements, which are most probably hidden to a non-observant. Systematic participation here justifies the role of the investigator, as his research evolves in a context without involving the inhabitants in the first stage, as the listening stages are practiced solely. The direct relation with the soundscape of a place, acquires, with the help of the practice of soundwalking, elements of the observation method, and is proven to be satisfactory in order to explore main aspects of the research question adequately.

#### **3.3.4 Interview**

The in-depth interview is a popular effective method of data collection in ethnography. As a method, it takes advantage of the use of *'a verbal stimulus (the question) to elicit a verbal response (the answer) from a respondent (or set of respondents where groups are interviewed by means of focus group interviews)'* (Brewer, 2000, p. 63). The inclusion of closed and/or open questions is observed and it actually puts the interviewee in a position to respond to questions that will lead to data collection. Brewer continues by describing the helper to the interview process, that is, the schedule: *'An interview schedule is a set of written questions to be asked of respondents in an interview; the interview itself is a face-to-face encounter between researcher and respondent in which a subject responds to the questions posed by another'* (Brewer, 2000, p. 63).

#### **3.3.5 Sound Ethnography**

Sound Ethnography involves the meaning and procedures analysed earlier; when describing ethnography, these are focused on sound, be it music (Toop, 1995), or sound material, or even soundscape material. *'A deeper appreciation of sound could ... make us consider in a new light the dynamic nature of sound, an open door to the comprehension of cultural sentiment'* (Stoller, 1984, p. 561). Stoller's words verify that there can be an ethnographic documentation which, by analysing an important

part of a community's sound experience, may later provide sociologically oriented answers. Using recording as a tool, sound ethnography has proven a method able to explore many cultural aspects of life within the acoustic communities (Makagon & Neumann, 2009). It is a fact that the most common sound experience to be studied is music. However, the ways of isolated 'tribal' communities to communicate through sound have often been studied. Furthermore, in the modern Western World, particular soundmarks, such as ringing bells (in outdoor or domestic environments) or ship horns in harbours reflect ethnographic information of the acoustic community interacting with them (Toop, 1995).

Bendix coined the term 'ethnography of listening' which refers to the act of listening, the involvement of the listener and the individual sound experience in each given case, rather than the sound itself. She also praises the aesthetic pleasure and the connection with cognition generated when applying this approach (Bendix, 2000).

To sum up, in the case under study, and as Iscen recently noted, '*the convergence of soundscape studies and ethnography should be emphasized... Diverse approaches to the soundwalk, sound diary and soundscape composition can be integrated into ethnographic research*' (In-Between Soundscapes of Vancouver: The newcomer's acoustic experience of a city with a sensory repertoire of another place, 2014, p. 134).

### **3.4 Qualitative Content Analysis**

Qualitative Content Analysis is '*an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step-by-step models, without rash quantification*' (Mayring, 2000, p. 2).

This method was chosen for the analysis of the data resulting from the interviews. The type and the peculiarity/uniqueness of the collected data demand that the research is conducted based on this type of analysis, so that results can be obtained. This requires that the ethnographic data is categorised and used for describing, in this case, the relation between the acoustic community and the sounds. To process this collected data, the method of Qualitative Content Analysis is chosen, as the content of the interviews offers enough material for discussion and analysis in such a manner. This particular method appears appropriate to describe and explore the research questions based on the material obtained from the interviews. In the phase of the pilot study, the transcriptions themselves will already prove that Qualitative Content Analysis could be used to extract results answering the research questions.

### 3.5 Related Methods and Studies

Before explaining all methodological steps taken in this research, it is important to review the methods used to explore the sound-related scientific areas described in the theoretical background. Especially, when the aim is to connect the terms of sound, space and human experience in this respect, it appears more than necessary to discover and discuss what has already been done in terms of methodology, and how effective these methods proved to be. Indeed, before putting the research into practice, there is a need to review the ways a soundscape can be studied by referring to previous investigations. In 2004, Paquette concisely indicated three ways: i) the descriptive model introduced and in a wide extent practiced by the World Soundscape Project, ii) the Acoustic Communication model which focuses on an information-based prototype, and iii) '*the perceptual and phenomenological work of French researchers Jean-François Augoyard and Pascal Amphoux*' (2004). The following lines primarily focus on such key indicative qualitative methods used in the past, in relation with the issues that have been discussed in the first chapter.

- Murray Schafer and the World Soundscape Project introduced, along with the notion of soundscape itself, as discussed, a series of methodological tools to study the sonic environment. Methods of classification (The Soundscape. Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World, 1977, pp. 133-150), sound logs and sonic maps (The Soundscape. Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World, 1977, pp. 264-270) were created in order to gain a deeper understanding of the acoustic world, while soundwalking, which will be thoroughly explained below, constituted a methodological practice already since 1974 (Westerkamp, Soundwalking, 1974). More recently, Tixier and Thibaud suggested commented walks, something that could be regarded as an evolution of the soundwalk, where the practice of listening takes place, however not silently; thus, the practice may be described as '*walking, listening, and describing*'. (Tixier, 2002, p. 85) In relation to this, Truax (1999) explored the theory of the soundscape, focusing on the exchange of information between the listener and the environment after having established the Acoustic Communication model. This model is used both as a tool and a reference in contemporary Sound Studies, to gain a better understanding of the sonic environment.

- Concerning the work of Murray Schafer, Bauer (Analyzing Noise and Music, 2000, p. 279), summarised the plan of a soundscape qualitative research, by placing the researcher within the soundscape, listening and creating logs, using various methods

such as sound diaries. Apart from using the classic 'hi-fi' and 'lo-fi' characterisations, a terminology originating from Schafer's theory, he refers to the onomatopoeia of sounds and, finally, advises the creation of sound patterns based on location and time data.

-Amphoux and Chelkoff (Amphoux, Thibaud, & Chelkoff, 2004) used the concept of ambiance to describe the '*material and moral atmosphere that surrounds a place*' (Marry, 2011, p. 18). Previously, however, Amphoux had described a certain number of methods concerning the qualitative approach to soundscape (2003), that had to do with the place's sonic identity. He had also used sonic mind maps in order to study the sonic perception and put the samples in the process of listening tests (1993). In this context, Amphoux outlined three dimensions of the sonic identity: the known – referring to a symbolic representation of a place through sound, the lived – referring to the more familiar relation a given listener develops with a place through sound, and the sense – with regards to the universal meaning sounds acquire, regardless of the listener (Amphoux P. , 1993).

- Kang (2007) also studied certain aspects of the urban sound environment using quantitative methods applied in acoustics, such as sound levels' evaluation, taking advantage of the use of the maps in order to describe the soundscape.

- The team working on the Positive Soundscape Project analysed above, used soundwalks and focus groups, among others, as part of its qualitative fieldwork investigatin sound (Davies, et al., 2013).

It is evident that a variety of methodological tools developed during all these years, giving the field an interdisciplinary character. During the implementation of the present research, a combination of the methods used in classic Soundscape Studies and the method of Ethnography was chosed.

### **3.6 Research Methodology**

As discussed in the initial chapter, soundscape was initiall regarded and studied as a composition, as Schafer's method shows; thus, sound was understood as part of the sonic environment by observing and careful listening. The methodological approach is defined in the same manner, comprising a wide and more comprehensive way of approaching sound and humans - for this reason, observation through soundwalking was chosen as a starting method. As Hiramatsu notes, '*observation is primarily done by a person who records and/or reports on the soundscape research. He or she will*

*listen to every day sound in a particular place and form his or her own impression as an external...Questionnaire surveys and interviews with the locale's inhabitants, i.e. the internals, are an important means to access the subjective soundscape'* (Hiramatsu, 2009, p. 297). In the beginning, keeping a sound diary, guiding soundwalks with residents/inhabitants of the area or performing listening tests to interviewees and completing questionnaires were examined and considered as potential methods to be used. Such methods, however, although popular in the field, would have resulted in another type of study, which would mostly have traced mostly quantitative characteristics, or would have focused on natural characteristics of sound. On the other hand, ethnography as a tool to explore the relation between the sound and the listener involves a much less positivist approach, which would allow for the conduction of interviews and for direct contact with the listeners to generate data, and, thus, produce a different, qualitative and human-experience-oriented type of information to work with.

For these reasons, it was decided to approach the subject using a combination of both methods; firstly, using elements from the soundscape theory, and, then, conducting ethnographical interviews, which would lead to a comprehensive approach to the research questions. This strategy is explained in the following lines, which also include the thoughts, concerns and ideas that lead to the decisions concerning which method to choose and why.

The ethnographic method appears to be ideal when combined with methods deriving from the Soundscape Studies; as the area of interest includes unique and original characteristics, it involves many aspects of multiculturalism which seem to be able to blend with each other. As already discussed, two ethnic communities live along the buffer zone, without considering the migrants and tourists who also participate in everyday activities in the area, either as inhabitants, workers or visitors. Despite the fact that the approach concerns a study of the community as a whole, one should be aware of the socio-cultural differences when discussing ethnography in any given place. Habits, characters and qualities of the national communities should be taken into consideration, especially when conducting the interviews. In this context, the strategies the comparative study can follow and their evolution depends on the ethnographer's way of implementing the research.

As ethnography is a cross-disciplinary method, the overviewed approaches allow the use of its relevant tools in order to address acoustic communities. More specifically,

the ecological approach may provide ways to investigate the parameters of the interaction between soundmarks and the acoustic communities, especially in areas where multiculturalism is present and many communities co-exist. (a) Environmental and (b) social structure parameters can be put together and analysed using this approach, as community-level forces '*such as land values, zoning ordinances, landscape features, circulation corridors and historical contingencies*' are the ones which can control urban expansion, and so are external factors that exist in the environment and define '*spatial and temporal relationships among individuals*' (Gobo, 2008, p. 51):

(a) Environmental parameters may form and define visual and acoustic boundaries in whatever space they exist. Such factors must also be studied and analysed in order to appreciate the environment's relation to the acoustic community. Environmental categories, such as urban, rural or natural, may cause different interactions inside a community and such characteristics may be applied to soundscape as well. To be more precise, in rural areas the keynote sounds of the community are birds or human sounds combined with machinery sounds, in urban areas cars or mechanical sounds are the most characteristic ones, while in the nature, it is the natural sounds which vastly dominate the soundscape. It is important, however, that a community's everyday life is exposed to an amalgam of these sounds and shapes the uniqueness of the soundscape. By itself, no matter which of the three categories the place belongs to - or its residents would claim it belongs to, the acoustic space functions in relation to the community and vice versa.

(b) On the other hand, the formation of social structures within such an environment, does play a role on the way the acoustic community lives. Ethnic variations, religious, financial, educational or any other differences among the members of a community can prove crucial to the variability of the soundscape.

The character and shape of an acoustic community appear to rely on this dual system of parameters, while sounds and soundmarks act as cultural indicators in this context. Either way, such a differentiation seems to inspire not only the research design of this study, but also the development of the data analysis.

In order to design the methodological approach to be followed in this research, it is important to reconsider and correlate the relevant key dimensions shown in the research questions. All these aspects above connect with the 'physical and social bonds' which are supported to form place attachment. Also, Tuan who argued that a

*'place is specific-tied to a particular cluster of buildings at one location'* (Tuan Y.-F. , 1977, p. 150), appears to see attachment to homeland as a phenomenon that is worldwide, while one's city is viewed as the 'mother'. The way the term homeland is defined in place attachment theory appears able to provide an initiative for the conduction of an ethnographic research in a particular place, making use of the ecological approach: social and environmental parameters can be investigated and correlated in relation to place attachment based on the inhabitants' aural experience, when living in the city centre. In an attempt to analyse these elements and narrow down the factors influencing the correlations within this fieldwork, distinct elements included in the theoretical background regarding place attachment, space, place and homeland need to be distinguished and studied at this point:

*Environmental parameters*, like geographical location, architectural structure or even weather conditions have to be taken into consideration in relation to the above. Overall, the two kinds of individual listening (primitive, at a first level and cultural, at a second level) must be oriented towards the data which are to be correlated, keeping the soundscape as a reference point.

*Social parameters*, such as ethnicity or religion, combined with gender, age and other demographic data influence an individual's attachment to a place, which is highly dependent on the period during which one lives or spends time in the area. Whether, and to which extent, the sound experience is considered to be important to this relation is studied in this research.

An interpretation of these parameters is revealed while constructing the coding frame below. However, before reviewing this, the two main methodological tools used in the research are presented first: soundwalking and interviewing.

### **3.6.1 The Practice of Soundwalking**

Recently, the careful listening as a practice was reappraised in relation to qualitative methods and deemed as a remarkable source of cultural information retrieval: *'For more than a few decades, qualitative methods practitioners have been experimenting with different approaches in an attempt to understand different dimensions of social and cultural life, ways of capturing experience through participant observation techniques and getting inside the life worlds of people...Listening more closely to the sounds in public and private spaces can produce richer and more complex engagements with, and representations of, the people and places studied...We can*

*learn a great deal by studying the sonic environments that emerge from social interaction and the cultures of social places'* (Makagon & Neumann, 2009, p. 28).

The soundwalk, as a method of analysing soundscapes, was introduced by Hildegard Westerkamp and has been widely used since the 70's, when the field of Soundscape Studies made its debut in the academic community. The practice of soundwalk proposes a way of exploring the surrounding acoustic space by careful listening while walking, and a manner of being exposed to detailed sounds, especially the ones that people are not aware of during their their everyday activities. In her 1974 article, "Soundwalking", Westerkamp suggests that to begin listening to the environment, it is best to limit the area for the sake of increased focus and intensity: *'The first soundwalk can be done anywhere, at any time, and as often as desired. For the sake of intensity it may be wise to limit the walk initially to a small area or even to one particular spot'* (Westerkamp 1974: 19). Having introduced Sound Ethnography in the previous chapter, it is evident that elements such as the aesthetic pleasure which was reviewed, or the experiential approach, potentially exist in the practice of soundwalking itself. A soundwalk is, hence, a practice, during which the listening experience comes to the foreground, as soundwalkers walk in the city without talking, but merely listening to the sounds around them. As part of sound ethnography then, and as a practice, it reveals a lot of information about the surrounding acoustic environment - information that was already there but was hardly noticed. Also, LaBelle discussed soundwalking on another level, referring to the walkers and their role. *'Soundwalking has become an active and rich base for enlivening acoustical understanding and appreciation, ... (capturing) the general drift of the meandering body, focusing the poetical drive underlying the walker as a creative agent, and redirecting or suffusing this with an acoustical project'* (LaBelle, 2010, p. 104).

The advantage of this method when followed, especially for the first time, is that full attention is paid to the sound occurrences while walking. The sense of hearing becomes very alert and sensitive, even to small variations and changes to the acoustic environment. As a result, unnoticed sounds are not only discovered, but also put into focus, thought and reconsideration, thus constructing a rediscovery of what was already known and thought to be discovered. This will most probably turn people into being more aware of their sound environment and, many times, it pushes them to the point of critically listening, deciding whether to appreciate a given sound or not, and better forming their subjective view about it. The method of soundwalking also

involves the appreciation of the detailed, often unnoticed sound in the composition of the soundscape. For Truax, soundwalking '*...is arguably the most direct aural involvement possible with a soundscape and one where repetition does not dull its effectiveness, since each walk is unique and unrepeatabe*' (Truax, 2012).

On the other hand, there are some disadvantages in this method when applied at a given place: it could be argued that soundwalks mostly concern a music-oriented approach to the acoustic space and the sound environment. In accordance with Soundscape Studies, the sonic environment, if well attended, is a concept approaching a global composition; the word 'composition' already belongs to the musical vocabulary anyway, so a composer would 'synthesise' things which already exist in a specific form. The practice of soundwalking also involves a respectable amount of subjectivity, and as this approach appears to treat the sonic environment as a (musical) composition, there is a high risk of adopting an artistic approach over the area of interest, overlooking data which could prove useful in the conduction of a social research.

The innovative method of soundwalking as an ethnographic approach is chosen to be partially used in this research, as the variety of the sensory experience the area offers is ideal for the adoption of such an approach. Semidor has suggested the soundwalk as an ethnographic practice, where the researcher is the soundwalker simultaneously recording, photographing and taking notes on the urban environment. The soundwalk incorporates a multi-modal observation of the urban environment, taking cues from the visual as well as the sonic environment. It is also safe to practice the same soundwalks at different times and days, and with different soundwalkers, too (Semidor, 2006). Furthermore, Makagon & Neumann recently appeared to accept and encourage soundwalking as a qualitative method of researching soundscape. Therefore, the research uses soundwalking, as '*a way to study the world from the vantage point of careful listening*' (Makagon & Neumann, 2009, p. 33). Although soundwalking is usually practiced with more than one listeners and is followed by a discussion amongst them, in this research the author practices individual soundwalks in an effort to accomplish the mission to '*complete a sensorial engagement with the spaces in which people dwell and through which they move*' (Makagon & Neumann, 2009, p. 34). Soundwalking, as a method, incorporates elements of the classic method of observation which can be used to generate either quantitative data or information for qualitative analysis: the second case is the one relevant to this research, as it

generates data which can be used in the current study.

### **3.6.2 The Practice of Interviewing**

Using the soundwalk as an introductory methodological tool, and after its practice and the first schematic display of the sounds of the area, it is important to find a method to collect data from the everyday listeners of the area. Such data results by following the method of ethnographic interviewing. The present study uses interviewing, since the data that needs to be gathered concerns the collection and documentation of the inhabitants' opinions, experiences, attitudes and emotional reactions towards the soundmarks of the area and the overall soundscape of the acoustic community. Also, the documentation of their knowledge, as well as historical and narrative material appears to offer the possibility to be conducted accordingly. As the research is experience-related, the basic tool chosen for this purpose is interviewing. *'Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic'* (McNamara, 1999). Standardised, in-depth interviews are used to facilitate the generation of homogenous data that can be analysed and compared. Overall, the research question about the meaning the inhabitants of the area give to the sounds requires that the inside experience of the inhabitants is explored; this can be achieved through the method of ethnographic interviewing. What needs to be stressed here though, is the fact that the interviews are planned on the basis of the soundwalking experience; what was audible to the researcher during the soundwalking guided the formation of the interview guide, and the way of interviewing itself.

### **3.7 The Pilot Study**

Before the design and implementation of the research, it is deemed *'necessary to eliminate all types of errors, including vague and misleading questions, inappropriate response categories...'*; this need calls for the implementation of a pilot study (Fetterman, 2010, p. 57). The pilot study is considered essential in this research, as it provides information that could not have been assumed or foreseen otherwise, but also supplies answers which can be analysed and, eventually, lead to changes in the research design. Therefore, in this case, the reason to perform the pilot study was to understand whether the initial questions could be answered by the responses of the

interviewees and their analysis, and if not, how can these could be rephrased to best interpret their topic.

This pilot study was organised in order to try out the methods the research planned to use, identify any possible deficiencies, question their effectiveness and, mainly, to test the responses to see whether these would sufficiently explore the research questions.

### **3.7.1 Implementation and Findings of the pilot study**

The area of the pilot study was initially defined as broad as possible, concerning the area across the Buffer Zone. The purpose of this was to investigate whether there were variations in the sound qualities in random spots regarding the resonance of the soundmarks, but also to acquire familiarity with the community members who habituated it. The pilot study took place in two phases: the first involved extensive listening, time-spending in the area and note-taking. The second phase involved in-depth interviews which were organised according to the coding frame defined in the beginning. The interview guide (pilot questionnaire) in Appendix, 1 (attached) was used as a guide. Direct questions to the interviewees regarding the meaning of the sounds were avoided, as one of the purposes of the pilot study was to find out whether the participants themselves would trigger such discussions on their own.

### **3.7.2 Pilot Phase 1: Listening**

Having practiced pilot soundwalks, and, thus, having observed and listened extensively to the area of interest, some information could be safely presented. The structure of the city centre of Nicosia across the buffer zone is complex and rich in architectural variety, as well as sound variety and resonance. With respect to commenting on the sound characteristics, there are some potentially useful statements about the quality of the soundscape; even though the structure is similar throughout the area, some basic differences do appear:

In the northern part, there exist plenty of mechanical sounds that dominate the soundscape: many cars move using diesel and there is a lot of dust and soil on the smaller streets, so when cars or pedestrians move on them, the quality of the sound acquires a characteristic distinctiveness. There are shops which play music loudly (two restaurants and a music shop spotted), and people are observed to be noisier in this specific area. Also, there is a place selling clothes by displaying them outside, along a small street in the area, creating sound absorption along the street, and, thus, a quieter soundscape.

In the southern part of the city centre, the soundscape consists of more silent and modern sound elements: the cars are newer, electronic sounds are more distinctive and the music (if any) coming from the restaurants or the small shops is more contemporary. Also, there are a few resonating alleys which create their own reverberation to the sounds present in the area.

On the borderline, where people cross from one side to another, passersby's voices are the ones that are characteristic, and the soundscape is relatively silent compared to either the northern or the southern part. The barriers and the fact that there is no life around this small area help form a quiet and somehow isolated environment, where, except from the ambience, which often consists of birds or cicadas, passersby (voices, footsteps) and the sounds the authorities produce, any other sounds are hardly audible. This very initial observation of the area, helped the researcher to familiarise with the aural experience in-situ. The discovered details of the area facilitated the understanding of the presence of the sonic effects, and, thus, helped form the pilot questionnaire which would later be used. Then, a series of first-contact interviews with the inhabitants and the workers found the area of interest was conducted and proved to be useful, as what was observed in the phase of listening later appeared in the interviews.

### **3.7.3 Pilot Phase 2: Interviews**

Provided that the area is of political interest, since it is characterised by the existence of frontiers/barriers among many nationalities, the initial assumption would be that bells and the imam's prayer would be the most characteristic sounds that first come to the inhabitants' mind when asked questions about the sound reaching their ears. Random workers who laboured in the buffer zone of Nicosia were approached, and the ones that claimed spending time in the area were those interviewed. The interviews were structured in an open-ended manner, so that the interviewee would be encouraged to lead a discussion concerning the sounds in his/her area. Some main questions were pre-defined to prevent the interviewer from deviating from the general discussion about the sounds in his/her area. After completing six 'semi-structured interviews', useful issues and questions arose, which seem to influence the work schedule that followed. The principle 'assumption' was that the obvious soundmarks of the region for an observer or a listener are the church bells and the imam praying; based on this assumption, these sounds were expected to be the first to be mentioned

when an interviewee was asked about the sounds of the area. Besides, the church bells and the imam's prayer describe the definition of the term 'soundmark' quoted in the beginning of this research. However, after having completed the interviews, it seemed that people, when asked about their sound environment, did not evidently first pay attention to these soundmarks, nor did they distinguish them directly among others. More precisely, people did not seem to 'specially regard or notice' these sounds, at least when asked.

After the last questions, the conversation was led to a more general discussion about sound, always in relation to the area studied. At a first glance, the soundmarks in question were not proven to be the ones that are perceived as most important by the listeners. Instead, people first mentioned the variety of languages in the area, as well as the silence or car noises. It could be worth investigating the peculiar fact that even when prompted to mention and describe the studied soundmarks, people simply nodded or agreed about their presence indifferently. In the end, after discussing them, it was discovered that these sounds were not that attention-drawing, at least not at the same level as the rest (variety of languages or cars).

From the beginning, even though some useful information was revealed, the interviews did not prove very useful for the analysis of the soundmarks and their correlation to place attachment. However, it was revealed that the variety of languages, the shop playing non-stop music, or other small shops (carpenters, printing shop) can form additional sound elements to be investigated throughout the research, if the 'soundmark' definition is applied to them. Some also commented strongly on the religious soundmarks.

To sum up, some of the outcoming results are formed as follows:

- People do not necessarily firstly notice religious/political sounds as most prominent and characteristic of the area
- People claim to be disturbed by the noise of cars
- People give importance to the foreign languages they hear on the streets
- People's opinions differ when asked about the religious soundmarks in their space.

An initial dilemma was whether to study the two ethnic communities separately and then compare the data and apply it to a single acoustic community, or to study them together, and then seek and decide how the data would eventually be separated according to ethnicity. Keeping the definition of the acoustic community in mind, the decision to follow the second method became evident – besides, the flexibility and

transmobility of sound in contexts where other entities are separated and constrained is so far justified. A great help to this decision were the pilot study conclusions, which appeared to disregard ethnic community characteristics and focus on sound itself. In support to this, Chambers appears to encourage this approach: *'Following the sound rather than the dictates of imposed identities opens up a more intricate history and a wider set of unexpected possibilities'* (Chambers, 2008, p. 46).

As it has been difficult to focus the data on the soundmarks of Nicosia after the pilot study, the need to reconsider the way the interviews would be made arose. The semi-structured interviews lacked focus on the soundmarks as defined by the Soundscape Academic Field. In the end, two levels of ethnographic research were chosen to be used in the following ways: first, a study of the characteristics of the soundmarks and their correlation to people that form a community, and secondly, by interviews of individuals which would then be followed by a research on their sound preferences.

It was also decided that the research would be carried in relation to the sounds of the outer environment, and what is heard at the exterior space. In the execution of the pilot interviews, the cases were split and the research concerned both exterior and interior sounds; however, it appeared that extracting information about the interior sound space would require a completely different, more individual-oriented research design.

Also, the answers of the interviewees during the pilot study were often descriptive and leading.

A descriptive sound of the place was claimed to be the horn of cars. Apart from this, music heard in the streets and the sound of people appeared to have an important role in the everyday sound of the area. Naturally, and as expected, the hodja's prayer and the bells emerged as distinctive sonic elements of the city centre, during the pilot interviews.

Such sounds facilitated a categorisation, that would eventually distribute sounds into clear, distinct categories: *Sound Memories*, *Favorite Sounds* and *Places of Sounds and Events* are these three categories which later help distribute the data into sections. Consequently, a question concerning such matters can be elaborated with the participants: *'What is your (or your community's) most meaningful sound (environment)? Why is it important and where can it be found?'* These matters are explored in the research while utilizing the method of ethnography. Drever sums up

that *‘Ethnography is a qualitative research method based on direct observation of and reporting on a community or social group’s way of life: their values, beliefs and social rules. Unlike many other fields of social research, ethnographic research examines entire environments, looking at their subjects of study in context, on location’* (Drever J. L., 2002, p. 23). Based on this quote, and keeping the data gathered from the pilot study in mind, the conduction of an ethnographic research continues to appear able to achieve the desired results.

#### **3.7.4 The Soundmarks of the borderline of the city of Nicosia**

The soundmarks are defined as distinctive community sounds, of ‘qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community... of cultural and historical significance and merit preservation and protection’ (Truax, Handbook for Acoustic Ecology, 1999), as analysed above. Their importance, though, may be subjective, as far as their listeners are concerned. For example, a soundmark like the church bell can be considered important by some individuals, whilst others can regard the sound of the horn of the car as such. However, having concluded from the pilot study that soundmarks are not of such importance in people’s minds, the research decides to focus on this issue. Reflecting on the numerous phases of observation, it appears difficult to tell which sounds really are the main soundmarks, as the church bells and the imam’s prayer also resonate in the area. How are soundmarks defined by people themselves and which are the reasons for defining them as such? This is a question that will need to be answered in the main part of the research, with the use of the aforementioned methods, as shown in the principal stages. The pilot study has traced the sounds of the study area, and acquainted the first set of data over what people think about them – this data facilitated the formation of the final interview guide, by leading the researcher to avoid certain paths which would not be related to the research question data. The answer to this question would also hold a key response to the main question of the research.

#### **3.7.5 Place Attachment through the soundmarks (and the sonic effects)**

Place attachment is formed by the nature of physical and social bonds of the community towards its place, and it is precisely these two fields which are investigated in the exploration. During the pilot study, it was observed that people develop sentiments towards their place and are also willing to express them accordingly. They are also able to put their attitude towards the place into words, so

as to navigate the research towards an understanding of the extent of place attachment. The sonic effects present in the area were also spotted in the pilot study, creating the opportunity to study them in relation to place attachment throughout the research. As already observed at that stage, the people of Nicosia appear to give a distinct meaning to the sounds of their area, and develop bonds of certain qualities with their community and their place. It is these meanings and qualities that the research design intends to explore based on adequate planning. According to Gobo (Gobo, 2008, p. 75), to plan an ethnographic research one should firstly conceptualise the fact under investigation. While reconceptualising the aforementioned elements, in this final step before the implementation, the emphasis remains constantly on the sound experience.

### **3.8 Research Design**

Pelto stated that the research design '*involves combining the essential elements of investigation into an effective problem-solving sequence*' (Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry, 1970, p. 331), a claim which leads to the association of various features of the overviewed research methods to approach the research questions. A combination of careful listening and interviewing would help the research unfold, pointing to the research questions. On the basis of the fieldwork, the research design is organised in three parts: the first and the second parts aim at responding to the first question: which are the soundmarks of the city centre of Nicosia? More specifically, identifying them requires the researcher's careful listening of the area: the methods are participant observation via intensive listening and, at a next level, the practice of soundwalking. The third and major part seeks answers to the other two research questions by deducting results from in-depth interviews: data needs to be obtained from the inhabitants along the Buffer Zone so that knowledge is gained regarding their relation to their soundscape, but also the way place attachment is formed through the soundmarks.

#### **3.8.1 Observation / Listening**

The first stage of the research includes systematic observation in the area, combined with careful listening in order to identify the points on which the study should focus. By listening during the day, by exploring the place and by asking people in the area, certain spots are identified and then pointed out, so that they can be included in the next important steps. More precisely, areas where interesting sounds resonate are

marked out and taken into consideration for the soundwalk planning and selection of the participants.

### **3.8.2 Soundwalking**

After practicing soundwalking in the area during the pilot phase, and recording useful information for the exploration of the research questions, the method of systematic soundwalking in the area is chosen so as to collect more sound data. In the case of this research, fieldwork is organised into regular visits in the area of interest during three periods of the day -, morning, noon and evening – during which the systematic soundwalks take place. The aim of this experiential practice is to create a personal narration of a ‘common’ soundwalk in the area, which will give the research the necessary familiarity with the place, but will also depict it in an empirical way.

### **3.8.3 In-depth Interviews**

In the second stage, face-to-face interviews are conducted on site with members of the community. Additionally, however, at this stage *‘the research might examine the archives, by looking into every form of documentation and artifacts, e.g. letters, photographs, diaries, previous ethnographic and historical studies and other relevant data from whatever discipline’* (Drever J. L., 2002, p. 23). As it is revealed later on, such data contributes to the exploration of the research question.

#### **3.8.3.1 The participants**

The procedure of selecting the interviewees was developed after discussions with various inhabitants and workers of the area. Then, the actual participants were interviewed to the point where the categories defined at the beginning, plus any other categories that emerged during the process, achieved theoretical saturation (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Furthermore, interviewees were selected on the basis of both the primary and the emerging theoretical focus under examination. Indeed, a *‘movement backwards and forwards between sampling and theoretical reflection’* (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p. 324) was observed. Regarding the particularity of the area, additional interviewees were selected for the implementation of the interviews with a combination of purposive and snowball method. The latter was selected in order to accommodate the selection of the participants *‘through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest’* (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981, p. 141). Nevertheless, the purposive approach

was adopted when asking the inhabitants for referrals: in such cases, one of the main targets was to maintain their representational character, according to the variety of the people who live in the area (Babbie, 2010, p. 193). In this context, an attempt was made to adequately cover the area across the Buffer Zone, and identify people whose personal soundscape might differ, staying close to the areas where temples (either churches or mosques) rose (Appendix, 5.1, 5.2). In this way, potential participants were excluded if they did not match the purposive plan. Members of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities were interviewed. Also, other nationalities (Greek, Turkish, Egyptian) participated in the research, developing their arguments and expressing their attitude towards the soundmark of the area, when asked. As supported in the theoretical background, the most essential criterion was that the interviewee was a member of the acoustic community of the area- ie. able to listen to the soundmarks/the sound of the area. As a result, the selection of the interviewees was achieved with a focus on this strategy. As expected, during the interviewing process it was observed that Greek Cypriots mostly live across the south part of the borderline, while in the north, one will most likely encounter both Turkish Cypriots and people from Turkey.

By using this strategy of participant selection, what was used in favour of the research was *'that the emphasis was upon using theoretical reflection on data as the guide to whether more data were needed....'* (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p. 325). The participant selection needs to be accurate, in the sense that the research selects *'a set of elements from a population in such a way that descriptions of those elements accurately portray the total population from which the elements are selected'* (Babbie, 2010, p. 199). However, due to the peculiarity of the subject, a characteristic of the process applied also belonged to the purposive way of selecting interviewees. Babbie defines it as *'a type of nonprobability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative'* (The Practice of Social Research, 2010, p. 193). The reason for this is that, after the pilot study, it was found that some people were much happier to respond not only in general, but also regarding sound matters. Also, some experienced listeners, such as musicians or priests are likely to approach their sonic environment with more care, a fact that offers valuable information to the process responding to the research questions.

Regardless of how purposive the selection of participants is, the principle of a random regular selection was applied initially. As far as the two communities are concerned, the area is principally split equally, according to the map shown in Appendix 2. The design encouraged a number of interviews from each square; however, the plan was soon abandoned, as, first, the qualitative approach demands a less strictly defined and more flexible method for selecting participants, and second, there are areas in the map which are sparsely inhabited, whilst others not. Soon it was revealed that the most effective method was to select the interviewees close to the religious temples of the area.

### ***3.8.3.2 Interview Guide***

The final version of the interview guide (Appendix 3) resulted by amending the **coding frame** based on the outcome of the pilot study. It is, thus, necessary to define its dimensions (main categories) to be able to analyse them. In order to identify these dimensions, the research questions are translated into less descriptive words, oriented towards the definitions of the main categories (Appendix 4). The coding frame was built both in a concept-driven and a data driven way. The main categories stated in the beginning were concept-driven, and emerged from the author's systematic observation, soundwalks and common sense. However, after completing the pilot interviews, it appeared that more dimensions had to be added to the coding frame as new data had come to light. Schreier (Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice, 2013, p. 80) proposes the steps of selecting, structuring, generating, defining, revising and expanding, when determining the coding frame; these steps were applied one by one in the present research. These elements appear in the analysis, facilitating the justification of its results.

### ***3.8.3.3 Data Analysis - Qualitative Content Analysis***

In this phase of the research design, the approach of qualitative content analysis appears to be one of the most suitable methods to help the research advance, as the data collected is qualitative and its complexity needs to be organised and coded, yet not quantified. The categories are determined and analysed by the structure of the interviewees words and stories regarding the research questions, and also by the soundscapes recorded in relation to the acoustic communication model of the research.

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

Regarding the ethical considerations taken before the realisation of the research, those quoted in Crang & Cook's research were used as a guideline and are mentioned here below, following the ESRC Research Ethics Framework. The following guidelines are checked throughout all the stages of the project:

*'Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity and quality. Research staff and subjects must be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended. Possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved. Some variation is allowed in very specific and exceptional research contexts for which detailed guidance is provided. The confidentiality of information supplied by research subjects and the anonymity of respondents must be respected. Research participants must participate in a voluntary way, free from any coercion q Harm to research participants must be avoided. The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit'* (Crang & Cook, Doing Ethnographies, 2007, p. 29).

## **4 Research Conduction**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The overviewed methodological considerations introduced the way such a research could be conducted, and since, these are connected to the theoretical framework, the study shall now describe how the research was carried out. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first part explores the specific form of systematic observation which took place and the second part reports on the use of in-depth interviews. More specifically, the first part concerns the observation and attempts to simulate the position of the listener, by presenting the location of the case study and its acoustic properties, while the second part presents and discusses the ways of implementing the in-depth interviews, before proceeding to the analysis.

### **4.2 Observation: Listening and Soundwalking**

A systematic observation took place in order to generate and obtain the data collected via extensive listening and soundwalking. Due to their nature, the analyses of the two research methods (observation/listening and soundwalking) are presented together here: both careful listening and soundwalking contribute to the same empirical nature of knowledge of the area, therefore the data collected, when combined is proven to be more complete. The acoustic properties of the area within the aural architectural context are presented and analysed, whereas the community living along the roadblocks is portrayed with an emphasis on its physical and social bonds, as they emerge from the area's activity. Besides, as previously analysed, the physical and social bonds developed within the members of a community reveal the amount of attachment to their place.

#### **4.2.1 Exploring the Aural Architectural Context**

The analysis of the aural architectural context is mainly based on Blesser and Salter's work and their onomatopoeia, which acquires a different, less holistic character than that of the firmer and composition-oriented definitions of soundscape studies, as reviewed earlier in Part 1.

The city centre of Nicosia is divided in two areas which acquire their own unique visual and aural characteristics. As expected, some of these characteristics are common, based on the past –already reviewed- structure of the city centre, while others differ: either they always used to be different, or, although they once used to be

common, they have been subject to change over time, mainly after 1974. However, in order to complete the study of the acoustic arena adequately, one should start from exploring the architectural style of the area, and try to find the elements that play a crucial role in the formation of the overall spatial experience.

To begin with, the architectural aesthetics of the city centre is characterised by a concrete and often identical style, while the complexity of its structure varies in many ways: the city is surrounded by the Venetian Walls, and in the area within these outer walls, which is indeed the area of interest, another wall exists. This wall, however, is not constructed from built rocks, but rather consists of metal surfaces, asphalt roadblocks, wires and other concrete obstacles.



**Figure 4. Part of the ‘wall’.**

In this particular place, one can observe buildings of three types (from the Frankish, Venetian and Ottoman periods), and their combination synthesises the characteristic architectural (both visual and aural) context of the place. The style becomes enriched by more modern constructions, which emerge at the boundaries between the old and the new city.

To better study the characteristics of this place, the observations take place separately on the south and the north side, across the wall. Furthermore, as the commentary of the Buffer Zone area unfolds below, it appears to acquire unique characteristics worth investigating. As the structure of the city centre of Nicosia appears, this area is complex and rich in architectural variety, and the sound variety and resonance is observed to be equally rich.

To assist the process of observing the described architectural structure and focusing on the aural experience, in line with the description of the sound characteristics defining the aural architectural context, some potentially useful statements about the quality of the soundscape are analysed below.

The acoustic environment of the city centre is rich and varies from neighborhood to neighborhood; there are even cases of such places which, though situated very close to one another, they are characterised by diverse spatial attributes. Due to the variety in the form of the area's architectural structure, as well as the variety of the exposed building materials in a place, the behaviour of sound resonance varies accordingly: it may circulate for many seconds in a place with concrete structures, or, in other cases, it may become partially absorbed, acquire an urban-industrial character, or even be characterised as minimal. There are areas<sup>8</sup> where a listener is exposed to deep and loud soundscapes – sometimes even lo-fi – dominated by car and truck noises, while some meters away<sup>9</sup> these are masked, and what rules the sonic environment is the bird's song, the air through the tree leaves and some occasional footsteps walking down on a footpath parallel to the roadblock. Even a first-time-in-town visitor walking around the roadblock could easily realise that the city centre of Nicosia's soundscape combines natural sounds, like the birds' chirping, with technology and machinery sounds, or people's chats, laughter or footsteps with the sound of the cars. While observing the area through intensive listening, a visitor could dare to declare that sounds of the East and the West mix harmonically and resonate through the surfaces of the buildings.

As the area is quiet, the streets are narrow and the buildings are of average height (or, at least, not very short), the reverberation created when cars or other sound sources pass from certain points is remarkable and this attributes amplification to the sound; this observation shall be confirmed by the interviewees at a later stage of this study.

As the architectural structure is common in both sides, the community which lives along the roadblocks is observed to be exposed to similar sound qualities, as a result of their resonance through the buildings.

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<sup>8</sup> E.g. Paphos' Road Tunnels, where the sound of cars moving on two double-lane roads is overriding any other sounds.

<sup>9</sup> See the area around the church of Aghios Kassianos.

#### **4.2.2 Acoustic Properties across the Wall**

To better study the observed sounds in the area, it would be useful to place them according to their characteristics, divided in categories: natural, human, mechanical or technological sounds are present, and, thus, set the basis accordingly for verbalising and signifying the aural experience at a first level. This classification was based on Schafer's classification according to referential aspects, a fact which allows us '*to study the functions and meanings of sounds*' (1977, p. 137) as stated. The analysis of the sound context across the wall was conducted while keeping these categories in mind.

##### ***4.2.2.1 The Southern Side***

In the southern part of the city centre, with the exception of one busy and noisy area, the soundscape consists of relatively silent and modern sound elements: the majority of the cars which are audible are new, hence their motors are not entirely noticeable. The lo-fi soundscape of the city supports such a 'disappearance'; however, when the streets are empty, a passing car will make its presence clear. In addition, electronic sounds, such as the ringtones of the mobile phones, are also distinctive. The style of music – in the case there is any - coming from restaurants or small shops is more contemporary. It is worth noticing that the main music sources are small radio devices placed in workshops and houses. In terms of architectural structure, in the southern part of divided Nicosia, one can cross a few alleys which create their own reverberation to the sounds present in the area.

The natural sounds in the city centre come from the birds, the trees, and the movements of other little animals living there, such as cats or dogs. The presence of some birds in cages is evident to a passer by, as these resonate in the narrow streets, and their chirping reflects on the surfaces of the workplaces or balconies hosting them. The area displays semi-urban characteristics, and, therefore, there are few but noticeable spots where there is an intense presence of natural elements, sporadically interrupted by the sound of cars passing by. Regarding the human sounds, except from the footsteps and the voices that characterise the area and declare the human presence at first sight, periodical chats can also be overheard in the streets or balconies, as well as buskers who enrich the soundscape with their music.

The south part of the city is characterised by the presence of churches and, consequently, their resonance. The bells ring often, and, especially, on Sundays or

other special festive days, the mass taking place inside the church can be heard outside via the loudspeakers. This particular aspect of the church's sound involving the bells primarily and the masse's chanting at a second level, guides the research towards the exploration of the soundmarks of this area.

#### ***4.2.2.2 The Northern Side***

In the northern part, there exist plenty of mechanical sounds that dominate the soundscape: many cars move using diesel petrol, resulting in a differentiated from the southern part, lo-fi environment which is noisier and more intense. Furthermore, in the streets of the northern part of the city, a lot of dust and soil can be found on many small streets, so when cars or pedestrians move across them, the quality of the sound acquires a characteristic distinctiveness accordingly.

The existing narrow streets are not very crowded, while cars and pedestrians fill the area with life. In this area of the city centre, there are shops which play music loudly (two restaurants and a music shop spotted), and people are observed to be noisier: they tend to talk louder and express themselves in a somewhat noisier manner than the inhabitants in the south. Regarding the architectural and spatial structures, there is a variety of surfaces on which sounds reflect. For example, there is a particular place – an open market, where many clothes are sold by being displayed along a small street in the area. This structure creates a unique sound absorption along the street and, thus, a quieter soundscape. Natural sounds also exist, such as the rustling of the tree leaves which is something noticeable in the area's neighbourhoods, along with dogs barking or cat sounds. Also, similarly to the southern part of the city centre, footsteps and voices are the dominant human sounds in the area; a variety of languages can also be observed. In the same context, and in this case too, people talk loudly, children run around and scream in open-air areas (such as the open yard of the mosque), and people in the market also seem to be talking louder.

The northern part of the city centre includes a number of mosques which resonate in the area. On an everyday level, as mentioned above, five times per day, the call to prayer will resound from the loudspeaker of the buildings and will resonate throughout the city centre.

#### ***4.2.2.3 The Borderline***

In order to cross the city centre border and pass from the one side of Nicosia to the other, one has to go through a bureaucratic procedure that will ensure a legal crossing:

papers have to be presented and the walker will need to get a visa stamp<sup>10</sup> when crossing the Buffer Zone pursuant to both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot police orders, respectively. In a sense, this path also includes a 'visual' crossing: the barriers are put/constructed in such a way that the person crossing is not able to see what happens on the other side, until s/he crosses the borders. However, at certain spots, when an individual is standing in front of the borderline, they are able to see parts of the abandoned areas in the Buffer Zone. Between the two sides there is a double wall: bricks/stones or barricades and cross wires are some of the materials used. Across the southern and northern parts of the city, partly defining this wall, small rock-wooden houses serve as small army bases for soldiers who serve their duty. On the borderline, at the point where people can cross from one side to another, the voices of passerby are characteristic and the soundscape feels relatively silent, compared to either the northern or the southern part. At this spot, the lo-fi sonic environment of the city stays behind, as no intense car or city sound reaches the listener's ears. The barriers and the fact that there is no life around this location help form a soundless environment, where, apart from the ambience (birds, cicadas etc.), the people passing by (voices, footsteps) and the sounds the authorities produce (e.g. stamping the visas) any other sounds are hardly audible.

With respect to natural sounds, the permanent residents of the buffer zone where the crossing takes place are birds during the morning hours and cicadas, during summer. The trees are also noticeable to the observer when the wind blows. There is a peculiar sensation about this experience, since, when standing there, one is surrounded by cold artificial white walls and borders-offices; the aural sensory experience itself appears to be part of something more human – a possible contribution to this may be the sound of the human activities.

A significant daily sound of the area, which stands out together with the visitors' chattering, is the sound of the visa stamping, resonating at the checkpoints. Before crossing, visitors are asked to complete their visa form that will, then, be stamped by the border checkpoint officers. To the observer's ears, this sound becomes a trademark of the activity taking place at that specific spot, since, when queueing during busy times, the stamping creates its own rhythm.

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<sup>10</sup> During the time of writing of the thesis, the sound of the stamp was silenced, as it was decided by the Turkish Cypriot authorities that visas were no longer required to cross the Green Line (Cyprus peace talks resume amid a 'climate of optimism' - UN, 2015).

Based on the above discussion, a resulting comparative table presents the sounds of the three described areas, so that the common elements between these places can be recognized with ease by the reader. The ethnographic process finds the particularity of the borderline and its special resonance –both sound-related but also geopolitical– intriguing enough so as to place it next to the much bigger southern and northern parts, so that the emptiness and the less significant sounds of the crossing point are emphasised.

	<b>City Centre of Divided Nicosia (sound sources)</b>		
	Southern Part	Northern Part	The Borderline
Natural	dogs, cats, birds, tree leaves		
Human	street chats & footsteps foreign languages (tourists and migrants) people talking on the streets/balconies/public space, street vendor calls, music by buskers or concerts		- (people crossing the borders, only at the crossing point)
Mechanical	cars, motorbikes & machines from workplaces		-
Technological	mobile phone ringtones, music from cafés or passing cars		-
Soundmarks	Church bells and mass	Hodja's call to prayer	(Stamp, only at the crossing point)

**Table 1. Sound activity on an everyday basis.**

#### **4.2.3 Social Interactions, Everyday Life and Special Events**

Everyday life flows in a peaceful way throughout the city centre. As some spots are ideal for walking and others are mostly for cars, the soundscapes are identified according to these correlations. There are areas where a constant movement of people is audible, for instance in and out of certain tourist shops, craftsmen or workers in other spots produce their own distinctive sound, while the variety of languages is evident: Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot are widely spoken, and one can also observe English, Italian or other European languages among the first. At the same time, in areas which are not very crowded, Sri-Lankan, Pakistani or African languages are frequently noticed.

Open-air markets often create a rich and lively soundscape. These markets are open during certain hours per week and signify the activity of the trespassing and potential customers. Street-hawkers are also a common activity in the city centre of Nicosia. They regularly move around the area, advertising their stuff by yelling and doing business.

Religious traditions, as for example the afternoon of Good Friday in the southern part, when the bier of Christ is carried through the streets of the city create unique soundscapes, as many people that are quietly praying follow the bier silently. Someone can hear their footsteps, the prey of the priest and some talking. Or, even in the occasion of the representation of the resurrection of Christ, before Easter, which is a religious ceremony, the custom has it to celebrate with bells and mini-bombs or other noisy/exploding fun games.

Military parades in the city centre of Nicosia are equally common and evident, taking place several times per year in both sides, while participants try to make their presence even more intense by amplifying their sound on purpose. Marching songs and battle cries resonate as well, politically electrifying the sonic environment on such special events. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, the very loud war sirens sound for reminding the people of the Coup D' Etat in 1974 which had taken place in the island. Within the same context, in remembrance of the war events in 1974, the deafening sirens sound every year on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July (day of the Turkish invasion in Cyprus) in the southern part, reminding to its people the atrocity of the tragic events.

#### **4.2.4 Portraying the Community around sound**

During the observation, it was noted that the community of the city centre of Nicosia is characterised by everyday activities without significant differences. With regard to the physical bonds:

- The workers and residents of the area are regularly found in the area and according to their schedule, they consistently participate in the daily routine. It has also been observed that the age of these individuals ranged between 30 and 70 years old.
- It has been observed that various shops and workplaces have been there for a long time, many others have been normally operating despite their outdated activity, while several others had been renovated.

- Moving communities, such as tourists and visitors, also constitute part of the place, whereas migrants seem to create their own micro-groups in specific locations.

With regard to the social bonds, an observer might easily conclude that there is a cooperation between the area's micro-communities:

- On a daily basis, one can observe a sense of neighbourhood, since these individuals know each other, talk to each other and cooperate. Their good and strong relations are also evident through their everyday communication – both verbal and physical.
- Migrants create their own micro-groups, and gather at certain points in public spaces, where they spend some time together.

After systematic observation in the area under study, it can be noticed that despite the presence of a sense of neighbourhood in the area, some of the community's groups, such as the migrants and the visitors, mark the neighbourhood in their own, distinctive way, by adding their special sound elements.

To sum up, by rearranging the data and the sound concepts presented above, a new table results, allowing for the concise portrayal of the community under study. The categorised acoustic elements in this table are displayed in a more conceptualised form of presentation, according to the observer's experience in the area, and avoiding the initial categorisation relating to the natural-human-mechanical-technological aspects.

	<b>City Centre of Divided Nicosia</b>	
<b>Sound Concepts</b>	<b>Southern Part</b>	<b>Northern Part</b>
Traffic	sporadic traffic jams, low rumbling, motorbikes	
	traffic/ modern cars	traffic/ old cars
Machinery	machines from the workplaces	
	heavy construction	
Human Voice	street chats	
	foreign languages (tourists and migrants) people talking on the streets/balconies/public spaces	
	radio voice presence	

	children playing/teenagers hanging around
	street vendor calls
Animal Sounds	dogs & cats / birds in cages
Religious Sounds	church bell
	hodja's call to prayer

**Table 2. Conceptualised sound categories**

#### 4.2.5 Sonic Effects in the city centre

As already outlined, the aural architecture of the studied area allows the circulation of sound as well as the development of characteristics according to the respective surfaces it reflects on. This fact allows the observer to identify certain characteristics according to the theory of sonic effects, as seen in the first chapter. For this purpose, the three categories overviewed in the first part of this study are examined according to the observation's revelations about the city centre:

##### *Elementary Sonic Effects*

The listener's visit in the sparse buildings which host temples provides him/her with information and an experience which raises the importance of *Resonance* in such places. Having already commented on the area and some interior places, it can be stated that the resonance in such spaces involves sense-related procedures. The interiors of such places amplify the sounds triggered inside them in an attempt to promote the believer's relationship with the divine. *Reverberation* especially enhances this experience, as the listeners are exposed to a more 'magical' understanding caused by the reflections on the high walls and the interior of the domes. At a next, metaphorical level, though, the whole area resonates in a sense that creates mind-representations. This resonance appears to be connected to the conflict issues, especially across the silent Buffer Zone.

##### *Compositional Sonic Effects*

To a walker in the area, the *Cut-out* effect is a frequent observation: when turning around a corner, leaving behind the noise of the city, or when entering an alley, when walking through the market with clothes hanging left and right, when entering the mosque, the church, or one of the closed markets, sound often gets cut roughly. In bigger spaces, also, areas defined by high walls and large open-air plots such as the

church yard or the yard around the mosque, the lo-fi soundscape is observed to cut out. More importantly, when passing the crossing point, the existing sonic environment, either from the north or from the south cuts out, resulting in the sounds of the passersby/crossers standing out in a silence which sounds as newly created. At the same time, whenever there is a loud source in the area, a listener observes the effect of *Masking*: music blasting from stores, mechanical sounds from the workplaces or street vendor calls mask the existing lo-fi sounds or even sounds which might stand out, like the human voices, many times per day. Also, on the edges of the walled city centre, where traffic is heavier, passing cars, trucks and buses mask other detailed sounds. To its greater extent, the effect of masking appears when the hodja's call to prayer takes place or when the church bells ring. In such cases, the attention of the listener might be drawn to them. This happens much more intensely, when the listener is situated right in front, or very close to, the loudspeakers the temples have installed, as the amplification is greater in such cases.

#### *Mnemo-perceptive Sonic Effects*

The case worth investigating in this concept of sonic effects is the presence of *Anamnesis* through these sound occurrences, as well as the nature of the *Synecdoche*, if relevant to this case. The presence of the already described sounds, or the existence of other sounds not outlined in this observation phase, would potentially create feelings, thoughts and memories; this is studied with the help of the method of interviewing later on. However, before exploring this aspect, the research provides the description of the soundwalk.

#### **4.2.6 Soundwalk**

A first evaluation of the soundscape of the city centre emerged after intensive observation, listening and verbalisation of the sounds that exist in the area and dominate the soundscape. In the first place, however, the method of soundwalk<sup>11</sup> was frequently used to make the evaluation of the soundscape clearer and more precise. As the method was initially proposed by Westerkamp (1974), and continues to be practiced with the same attitude (2007), the description of the experience unfolds

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<sup>11</sup> The practice of a soundwalk, according to Westerkamp is a personalised experience: in order to describe this experience as intimately and as close to reality as possible, and take advantage of its respective characteristics, the use of the first person and present tense was decided.

similarly. *'The salient concern in soundwalking is everyday life. Bringing into play the everyday suggests a shared tacit knowledge, whilst validating individual's behaviour, perception and interpretation'* (Drever J. L., 2009, p. 164). It is this individuality which is important at this point of the research. Thus, only a variation of the method of the soundwalk is used, as it usually involves more than one persons taking the walk. In any event, an important deal of information can result from reflecting upon a silent soundwalk among a team. However, as the main part of the methodology used focuses on the in-depth interviews, for the purpose of describing the sound of the area from the ears of a walker and only, it was preferred not to involve any other people, and settle for the self-reflection of the author only. But the movement of soundwalking itself appears capable of tracing place elements, which are later investigated with the interviews. As supported, *'spaces is a system of places; a place is a space that is special through the meanings connected with it. When we move, the places become activated and we enter into a dialogue'* (Järviluoma, Truax, Kyoto, & Vikman, 2009). Therefore, the following text explains the author's experience, from a personal point of view, after taking systematic soundwalks in the area of interest<sup>12</sup>. Particularly, the soundwalks took place at five consecutive days: from 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> of July 2013.

*Starting from the area of Paphos Gate, where the old, calm area of the city centre meets the new buildings and the big and noisy streets, I sense the quietness that lies beyond this point. It is not the buildings, but the sounds which appear being masked when passing the starting point of the soundwalk. And this is what actually happens: entering the old city centre of Nicosia, car sounds cut out and become a far lo-fi soundscape, when new, more detailed and accurate sounds come to the foreground. The school ambience and action coming from the coffee shop where elderly people spend their time, mark what a soundwalker hears. Two of them are playing backgammon; the sound of dice rolling and their checkers hitting the wooden board stand out in the -relatively- silent ambience. Murmuring, newspaper page turning and sounds coming from the kitchen of the coffee shop are also present, while walking outside of the Holy Cross Catholic Church. Walking through the narrow streets, alert*

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<sup>12</sup> Part of the narration of the soundwalk has been presented in 2014, in the Conference of 'Invisible Places-Sounding Cities' (Christidis, Soundmarks in Place: the Case of the Divided City Centre of Nicosia, 2014).

*by the quiet talking of the army guards in front of their military checkpoint, and noticing the sound of leaves rustling and birds chirping, mixing with the lo-fi occasional presence of a working air condition box outside some buildings, I reach an alley, where sound is circulated, leaving my ears exposed to the reverberations created by the high walls.*

*The open-air parking areas that I have to cross in order to reach the crossing point, create another quality, the one of the abandoned area, as they are quiet, with a terrain texture that is not taken care of, full of dust and small rocks. Standing for a while in the south crossing point of Ledra street, I can focus more on the sound of people passing by, talking on their phones, talking to each other, shouting at their kids. Cell phones, music from the nearby tourist shops and people entering and leaving shops and cafes compose the soundscape of this point.*

*When crossing the Buffer Zone, the entire ambience changes all of a sudden. While walking through large white iron doors hiding the abandoned and ruined houses of the area, the sound also seems to be missing something. The seventy steps one needs to cross the 'Dead Zone' are enough to make him/her feel the emptiness of the sound environment, leaving the sound of the city behind, and moving towards a sound of another city, yet the same one. At the Turkish checkpoint, where few people are patiently queuing, waiting for their access to be authorised and cross the Line, what stands out sonically is the sound of the stamp of the officers on their passports, and the relatively noiseless conversation of the police guards and some tourists.*

*Having crossed the borders, and still walking across Ledra street, the soundscape slightly changes. After a silent area lies the extension of the deserted Buffer Zone, where tourists and locals appear to give life to the neighbouring cafes and shops. Another, less cosmopolitan, yet busy ambience is present, until I leave behind the last CD shop playing music through loudspeakers, and head West. The soundscape dries out, becomes calm and silent/soundless; its quality changes. The streets are narrow, they are the same as the ones in the South, but they are dustier. By walking and listening in this specific area, one might think that s/he is in a village. Every three or four old buildings, houses or stores, there is an open car repair garage, with few people inside, working or socialising. A printing house establishes the place with the constant noisy sound of its working machines. Walking back, leaving the quiet Turunçlu Fethiye Camii Mosque behind me, and heading East, moving through the narrow streets, I enter a tourist area once more, full of shops with clothes hanging on*

*both sides of the street. As a result, this forms an area where the sound of the walkers dries out and gets absorbed by the colourful fabrics, creating a strange, quiet, yet very busy sound environment.*

*Leaving behind this vivid place, I reach Selimiye Mosque; its wide yard, also hosting some trees, lets the sound circulate in the area, and gives a sense of openness to the ambience. Some meters away, children are playing in the square: they are always there and the sound created by their shouts, games and running is a constant event. At some point, distant church bells are heard from a church on the other part of the city. I end up, once again, in a rather quiet area, despite the few cars, close to the end of the city walls of North Nicosia, and I am heading back to the crossing point, this time passing from the closed market. The ambience in there is different, it is a calm closed space, where customers and workers move around and trade vegetables or other products, and the sound reaches the top of the building and then returns back. Following the way back to the border, tourists are still there, shops declare their presence sonically, and the sound of life there reminds of commerce.*

*Crossing the border for the second time, the sound of the stamp initiates my peaceful short walk along the Buffer Zone, until I reach again the tourist zone, and then end up close to Phaneromeni Church, an open space full of cafes, accompanied by the typical sounds of people: chatting, arguing, playing backgammon or silently reading. Leaving this area and walking across the line, the streets become more narrow, there are fewer cars left, and I am led to a calmer neighbourhood, where birds declare their presence and the neighbourhood seems to take over the character of the city centre. Taht-el-Kale Mosque is the last religious-related sound source before I reach the church of Saint Kassianos and finish the soundwalk in a calm sound environment which, once again, brings a village soundscape to my mind. The silence is interrupted by the call to prayer, heard from the north part of the city, which I have just visited.*

The description above depicts the soundscape of a regular day along the area of study and presents the experiential sound data which emerged. This description of the place presented in the first person, indeed, generates empirical data which appear helpful for the continuation of the research. At this point, it is important to clarify the fact that the term soundwalk can be considered as biased by definition – the above description confirms this fact. However, as the researcher's ears and eyes are the ones which acquire the data at this such a stage, it is considered wise to use the description above

to begin this part of the research. Having described the soundscape of the area as confirmed by the practice of soundwalking, in order to establish a proper objective – yet personal evaluation- of the soundscape, the area itself will need to be approached and described through its inhabitants.

The presence of certain soundmarks in accordance to place, both as described by Acoustic Ecology, and also as they could be defined by a less composition-related definition, are present in the city centre of the area. Their presence has been proven after having conducted a series of systematical soundwalks in the area. The religious soundmarks mix with other, less resonating but equally important sounds that declare their existence throughout the city centre of Nicosia. In a place like this, which is divided into two ethnic communities, and in the scope of this research, it is very important that the entire community's attitude towards the soundmarks resonating on both sides is defined. At a first glance, or with reference to the sensuous experience, at a first listening, the sound travelling over the roadblocks, signifying not only the acoustic, but also religious, ethnic or the urban community of the city centre, appears to enforce a place identity in the area. However, how is this place identity formed and which are its characteristics?

This relation to place through sounds needs further researching: in order to investigate the relation between these soundmarks and the inhabitants more in-depth, another, more human-engaging method seems to be useful. Trying to approach the way in which the inhabitants of the divided city centre of Nicosia give meaning to the sounds of the area, ethnographic interviews are planned and realised. Using the theory of place attachment as a theoretical umbrella, the interviews are created and organised according to the investigation of any special bonds developed between the residents, through the soundmarks which have been observed. Considering the overall aim of this research, which is to investigate place attachment through the soundmarks as far as the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities are concerned, it is essential to proceed to further discussions on this particular community living in the given area with regard to local soundmarks.

### **4.3 In-Depth Interviews**

The second stage of the research involved the in-depth interviews planned in order to build the arguments on the responses to the research questions. This chapter explains

the rationale behind the development of the interview guide, and informs about certain situations that emerged and impacted the process at an introductory level. Every participant is presented by his/her number (XX) followed by the initials of his/her nationality (GC for Greek Cypriot, TC for Turkish Cypriot, T for Turkish) and his/her sex (m/f). For instance, the tenth individual interviewed, being a male Greek Cypriot is identified as “10GCm”.

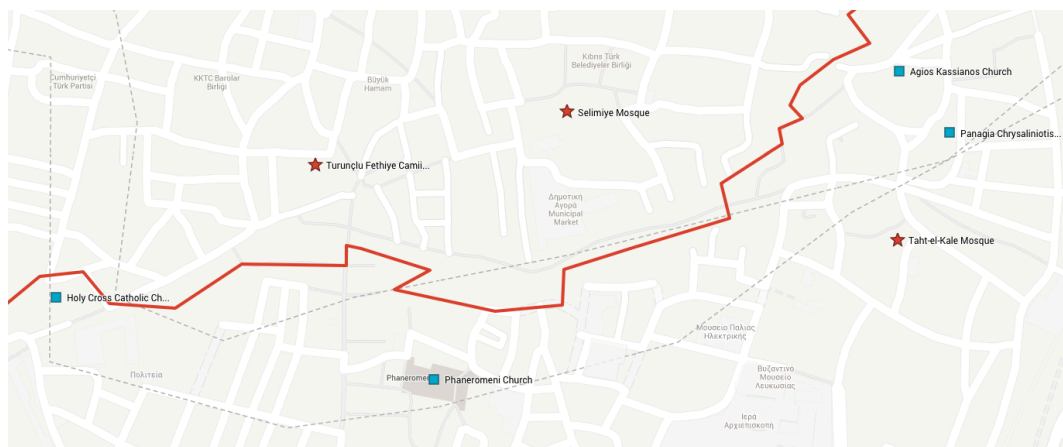
The majority of the people inhabiting the city centre of Nicosia is observed to be over a certain age. Also, a considerable amount of migrants lives in the walled city, as already indicated. This would justify the Egyptian (EG) interviewee whose interview is included in the analysis.

When identifying the spaces and the inhabitants that would be involved in the interviewing process, a variety of closed spaces was detected. What would be the reason behind this? As already shown and documented in the chapter about the description of the area, the area consists of either residences, or empty, abandoned houses, or repair shops, or garages, or spaces of similar use; therefore, the area's inhabitants spend time inside these spaces. As observed, most of the area's inhabitants are middle-aged.

After the observation, at the first stage, followed by the first series of interviews, it was shown that very young people are not representative of people who spend time as inhabitants in the area, and, consequently, develop physical bonds with the place. On the other hand, older people which dominate the area, tend to be attracted to the past, and particularly like talking about it, often with repetitions and sometimes tiring references: the effect of this on the ethnographer could either be the acquisition of precious data and interesting stories, or, at worst, pointless talking. Furthermore, men were observed to be dominant in the area. After having considered the aforementioned observed parameters, it was decided that the participants would be inhabitants aged between 30 and 60 years old. Rafaeli et al (1997, p. 14) initially employed a stratified random approach of selecting participants, but then evaluated their data *‘after completing interviews with the 20 individuals selected and concluded that, because we had reached theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) no additional interviews were necessary’*. Accordingly, when the research reached the number of 33 interviews, it was decided that saturation was achieved, since, beyond a certain point the same data seemed to reappear repeatedly.

### 4.3.1 Place of Conduction

The interviewing process was planned after observing the architectural structure of the area and identifying the places where the soundmarks are audible, or at leastm as audible as possible. The initial plan was to equally divide the area and interview inhabitants from each part. However, after the first interviews, the interviewees were more carefully selected, with the researcher having their supposed aural experience in mind. Interviewees were eager to introduce other residents who were likely to give interviews regarding their place. Apart from proving useful, as the analysis will show, the aforementioned combination of purposive and snowball methods also proved handy, as the inhabitants of the area were happy to refer their colleagues or neighbours. Another important factor that was kept in mind during the selection, was that the location of the interviewees was not far from a church or mosque, which are buildings resonating throughout the city centre. In order to show the interviewee's exact location in relation to area's temples during this process, the position of the churches and the mosques is presented in Appendix 6.



### 4.3.2 Method of Conduction

In the interviews which took place in the southern part of the city centre, the interviewer was alone conversing with the interviewees. In the northern part of the area of interest, when the interview was not in English, a Turkish-Cypriot translator facilitated the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewees. In both cases, the method of conducting the research in the area included elements of unstructured interviewing, such as the 'conversational' tone, but the pre-scheduled interview guide was always leading the interviewer's way of thinking.

It would be necessary to mention the fact that follow-up questions which were not included in the interview guide were asked, e.g.: 'When were the soldiers throwing stones?', or: 'How do you feel about the effects of the sounds you described to me' in order to generate data for the analysis, keeping in mind the core of the research questions.

In general, a flexible interview scheme was applied, which was intensely focused on and shaped according to every interviewer individually. The interviews attempted to cover a specific, not narrow, range of aspects regarding place attachment and sound, by investigating the words and the listening 'habits' of the inhabitants: their relationship with their neighbours, their attitude towards the ambience, the character of the place, as well as their attitude towards the sounds that they described, their wishes, and their approach towards the cultural/religious soundmarks. Unavoidably, as the analysis will show, the conversation many times led to political issues, especially when commenting on the soundmarks of the place. In other words, the strategy followed during the interviewing process had to do with the way each conversation was guided: the interviewees were asked indirectly to lead the discussion towards matters relating to the sound of their neighbourhood by themselves. Starting from the ambience of the area and, then, asking about the shape of the sensory experience of an inhabitant in the area, the in-depth interview followed a strategy that allowed for flexibility which was used to the benefit of the research. Even elements of how a 'life story interview' would evolve were sometimes incorporated in the method of conduction, as such narrations offer flexibility for both the interviewee and the interviewer.

### **4.3.3 Time Frame of Conduction**

The interviews took place during a three-month period, from April to June 2014. During these months the weather in Cyprus was good and sunny, but not too hot, as summers in Cyprus tend to be. During this period, the area's inhabitants are much more exposed to the ambience, and, consequently, their aural environment, compared to winter, or the middle of the summer. The inhabitants keep their doors open, they sit on their balconies, outside of their shops or choose a spot to stay close to an outdoor space. As the analysis will show further on in support of the time frame chosen, many spring and summer-related sounds were mentioned during the interviews. Also,

the morning/noon time of the day, when the interviews took place, allowed for easier conversations, since approaching an unknown person sitting outdoors is easier. The three-month period allowed the immediate, parallel transcription and coding of each interview, but mostly encouraged the researcher to rethink the exact format/wording of the questions and the attitude towards the interviewees – elements that varied from one interviewee to the next. The interviewing period was also carefully chosen so as to avoid any interfering with any special sound events, such as those already mentioned.

Before proceeding to the analysis section, it is worth presenting how people react when asked about the sound of their area. Many of them find it difficult to respond and comment without asking for clarification and further details. Also, many others respond by directly focusing on music and find it difficult to disconnect sound from music heard in the streets (from bars, passing cars etc). After such reactions and the necessary clarifications, the conversation often focuses on noise: even if some of the interviewees inhabit a quiet area, when they know that it is not the music the interview is investigating, they focus on noise and they tend to try tracing noise qualities in sound. Following this stage, though, the data on the sound and its connection with the matters under investigation is generated.

## 5 Analysis

### 5.1 The city centre (Introduction)

The city centre of Nicosia has been the space where the research took place, but also where the answers of the inhabitants were initially based on. The specialty of the place emerged frequently during the interviews, and the participants appear to bond with it in a peculiar way. This chapter introduces these bonds with the place and identifies the necessary connections to advance with the sound investigation itself.

#### 5.1.1 The ambience of the city centre of Nicosia

Before exploring an area and the inhabitants' attitude towards detailed aspects of it, someone would initially ask: "What is the ambience like in this specific area? And how does someone feel about it"? This has also been one of the introductory questions during the interviews. The term 'ambience' mainly concerns *'the balance between the senses and their importance in constituting our daily experiences as well as our relation with the surrounding environment'* (Said, 2010, p. 2). In practice, many interviewees were put into the process of thinking about or asking what an ambience is. In this case, it was the interviewer's intention to remain unhelpful and not direct enough when asking this question, in order to obtain the first reactions and the most spontaneous answer by the interviewees - non-verbal communication included. The initial guidelines were indicating that by using the term 'ambience', one refers to the atmosphere of a place and its character. Indeed, this resulted into being a first hint to any confused interviewees in the area of interest, when questioning themselves about the meaning of the term 'ambience', regarding their place. Besides, and as Thibaud claims, *'this word helps us to change our way of thinking about the ordinary experience of urban environment'* (Thibaud, 2007, p. 22). Characterizations such as 'good' or 'bad' appeared, while others directly described subjects which were individually concerning them, such as the presence of tourists, the crime rates, renovation issues or history. It was also clear that one's opinion about the ambience was also formed by taking his/her personal time spent in the area into account. Already, the issue of community appeared in the introductory interviews which were regarding the ambience of the place:

“The ambience..., it’s good at the moment, like in the six years I have been here, as a working person ... it’s going better and better, step by step, much more communitarian” (20,TCm).

Almost no sound-related vocabulary was used in the beginning, except for some cases which could have led directly to such a discussion. Indeed, it was preferred by the research that the interviewees took their time to answer, as well as to direct the discussion around sound on their own, instead of being challenged to. As a result, some first, non sound-related thematic categories concerning the city centre evolved, commencing from the ambience.

### **5.1.2 The historical value of the place**

Nicosia, as it has been reviewed in the second chapter, is a city of rich history. This was confirmed by the interviewees, as references to both recent and older history were made by the inhabitants during the interviews. The fact that many times the discussion around sound triggered such issues confirms Chambers who quotes: ‘...*the history of place is itself an archive of sound, a collection of musical accents and accidents, an accumulation of historical notes, an orchestration of cultural traces*’ (Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity, 2008, p. 43). Regarding the recent history, people during the interviews use to talk about it with nostalgia, especially when it comes to their engagement into this.

“These were the greatest mahalaes<sup>13</sup>, as we were saying... Here, Saint Kassianos, all these areas are the best when it comes to the [aerea’s] people, their quality... everything. Now, they went sour, everyone came here and the place became messed up: it’s a melting pot now” (04,GCm).

“Αυτοί ήταν οι καλύτεροι μαχαλάδες, εμείς ελέγαμε, εδώ Αγ. Κασσιανού, αυτές όλες, είναι οι πιο καλές περιοχές. Κόσμος-ποιότητα, όλα. Ε, τώρα χαλάσανε, ήρθε ο κόσμος όλος, τουρλού τουρλού, όλα” (04,GCm).

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<sup>13</sup> Mahalas (pl: Mahalaes): word of Arabic and Turkish origin, meaning ‘neighborhood’, ‘area’ or ‘district’.

In addition, it has been observed that while talking about their place, people tend to have the older history in their minds, namely the contemporary history of the island before the events of 1974. It was observed that a type of dependence on the place and a sentimental connection was formed after a mentioning such historical events mainly stressing the historical value of the area.

“9<sup>th</sup> of July 1821. There was a huge massacre down there: 585 people, 550 people. This is the saray<sup>14</sup>, they put them in the backyard of the church and this is where they buried them. In 1872-73, it was entirely renovated and the bones of all these martyrs who had been massacred were taken. They put them in the altar. Right? So this soil had been watered with the blood of martyrs”.

“9η Ιουλίου 1821, έσφαζαν λίγο πιο κάτω τον κόσμο, 585 άτομα, 550 άτομα, που είναι το Σεράι, και τους έπαιρναν και τους έβαζαν εδώ πίσω από την αυλή της εκκλησίας, και τους έθαβαν εδώ. Έγινε το 1872-3 ανακαίνιση εκ βάρθων του ναού, και μάζεψαν όλα τα οστά αυτών όλων των μαρτύρων που έσφαζαν, και τα έχουν βάλει κάτω από την Αγία Τράπεζα. Ντάξει; Άρα αυτό το χώμα είναι ποτισμένο με μαρτυρικό αίμα” (25,GCM).

In addition to the aforementioned observation as a result of interviewing, it has been noticed that there were also people who had only recently moved to Nicosia; yet they still talk about its recent past, and how things used to be better. However, the general obtained attitude during this initial stage was the following: Many of the interviewees emphatically referred to historical aspects, especially those living in the northern part, when they began talking about the ambience of the area. Even in later stages during the interviews, history-related issues regarding Nicosia evolved and were emphasized by them. From their attitude towards the area’s ambience, one can observe that people enjoy discussing this aspect of their city even if they had not been asked to. In such a concept of historical references, the importance of the place had been continuously stressed. An inhabitant of the southern part of the city stated:

“You know, when you walk in this area, on the street, in the streets, it’s like... you are in History. A living History”.

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<sup>14</sup> SarayL the official residency of the Ottoman sultan or the governor of an Ottoman district. [translated from Greek, online Dictionary of Modern Greek Language, Lexiko Triantafyllidi].

“Ξέρεις, όταν περπατάς μέσα στην περιοχή αυτή, στο δρόμο, στους δρόμους, είναι... είσαι μέσα στην Ιστορία. Μια ζωντανή Ιστορία”. (02,EGm)

Additionally, a Turkish inhabitant stated about the area, and especially the Selimiye Mosque, stressing the historical change of buildings in time:

“It’s a very historical place, this [points to the temple] - I don't know what, is it a church or a mosque, but there is a mosque now, this area is historical and very important for Cyprus...” (05,Tm).

Aspects of history appeared in other interviews, also in a more complex context. For instance, a Turkish Cypriot artisan seller declared on the related subject, that

“...there is the satisfaction of protecting the history here” (18,TCf).

while she later on noticed, talking about a building, that

“...this is a historic building and they try to keep it alive. For example we at least try to protect our history, in a way” (18,TCf).

Hence, the historical value appears to be meaningful for the inhabitants. (10,GCm) also explains the concept around the small church located next to his tavern, displaying a sense of responsibility towards the building itself and its value, while feeling a sense of pride because his restaurant is next to it; the interviewee cheerfully starts narrating its history in the best possible way, even before the audio recorder is turned on. At this point, it is important to note that a feeling of pride about their area has been observed among the inhabitants, when elaborating and explaining information on the place. Moreover, their non verbal communication signs, when commenting on its historical value demonstrated that not only they feel comfortable about it, but they also state and express their own responsibility they feel to have and further concern with regard to its future.

“The area has a history, a past and you’d vividly feel the scent of things that had gone by in the neighborhood. That cultural structure which comes from the past” (22,Tm).

The discussion about the ambience also sometimes brought sound to the table, and it has been observed that correlations were made between the historical value and the sounds of the city.

“depends on the day, depends on the people around, you can have different sounds, you can have silence sometimes, you can feel history” (20,TCm).

This feeling is further expanded and analysed in a following chapter discussing the spirituality of sound heard in the place. The historical value though was stressed once again likewise:

“It is a historical place, which includes, in every corner, every building, every stone and every neighborhood, its own history”.

“Είναι ένας ιστορικός χώρος, ο οποίος εμπεριέχει, η κάθε γωνιά του, το κάθε κτίριο, η κάθε πέτρα, η κάθε γειτονιά, μια ιστορία” (25,GCm).

Accordingly, (26,TCm) described:

“This area is the most valuable area in Nicosia from a historical point. ... In terms of atmosphere, this place is the centre of Nicosia. There are many historical sites...”.

As a place with historical value, a fact which is easily quoted by people, it appears reasonable that tourism has also emerged in the responses of some of the interviewees, when talking about their place and its ambience.

### **5.1.3 Tourism**

Although the inhabitants of the northern part talk a lot about tourism, the ones who live or work in the south, do not consider this aspect of a great importance by itself

when describing the place, at least compared to how the north inhabitants perceive this. The area

“...is merely commercialised and it’s tourist-oriented. Now, we haven’t changed the structure of the old city much. There are no new things. And because everything is old, there are a lot of listed places [historic places] because of everything left from the past. And it attracts tourists and because of this, it’s tourist-oriented, and commercial-oriented...” (11,Tm).

This was confirmed by another interviewee who declared:

“...we are a touristic area. All the historical places are inside the city walls. And all the tourists come over here...” (05,TCm).

In this spirit, an inhabitant stated about the ambience:

“...it’s getting better and better, step by step, much more communitarian, because tourism is going up a bit... around here tourists are coming by organization groups, and they only just make quick, very quick panoramic tours, with their destinations, three weeks before they know where they are going to go with their guide, they go to the Han, for example, after they go to Selimiye Mosque or Santa Sophia Cathedral, and go back. Usually they come from the south” (20,TCm).

As it had been expected, personal concerns and stories regarding the place made their appearance in the early stages of many interviews, and prepared a basis for the conversation, which would later lead to sound related matters. Such stories, many of which derived from the comments on the tourist activity and human activity in general, are presented in a following chapter, as they connect to the attachment to place through sound.

“We have lots of different people and tourists. That’s good for us and for the Greeks. Then, more tourists come, and also they are going easily and coming

to the south to our houses and to our old places, to see, and we are mixing much better now” (05,TCm).

Generally, many of the interviewees included the tourist-oriented aspect of the place in the interviews; some quotes are cited:

“It is merely commercialised and it’s tourist oriented” (14,Tm),

“during the day, the old city is touristic, a place to sightsee” (22,Tm),

“...and, the places where tourists can visit are around here...” (26,TCm),

confirming the connection inhabitants have in their mind to the first description of the ambience of the place. Considering the acceptance that the area is closely related to tourism, some concerns have been expressed regarding this issue, to move it to a further step:

“Actually, the Ministry of Tourism ought to protect this area. And in reality all these sounds whether positive or negative need to go / be referred to the Ministry of Tourism in order for them to see what the people do here. And unfortunately there hasn’t been any minister or ministerial official from the ministry of tourism who came here” (18,TCf).

Already, a ‘mosaic’ character of the area, as inhabitant (22,Tm) has described it, started to make its appearance from the first comments on the place. What had been observed in the first stages of the research, during the soundwalks and the observation was confirmed in this case. Of course, this character, often in the foreground when talking about the area, contains some spots that are left isolated, such as the ones where the stores of the craftsmen or the mechanics are. Yet their concern still involves tourism:

“...in the past it was lively, now, everyone is moving out of this place. Recently, there are some tourists” (17,TCm).

The Turkish owner of a lonely coffee shop located right on the Buffer Zone also reports tourists:

“sometimes some tourists come and they know Turkish, (then) we speak” (19,Tm).

Deriving from this last case too, it is understood that the tourism industry appears to be of great concern in the minds of the inhabitants. Another interviewee sums a concluding analysis about these first thoughts of the inhabitants:

“Well, wherever there are humans, there is life. Whether it is the tourists or local people or the shopkeepers, if they are all in unity, then we can understand that the area is alive” (26,TCm).

#### **5.1.4 A Village or a City?**

How would someone characterise the area? As it is indeed the centre of the capital city of Cyprus, naturally it would have obtained characteristics of an urban environment. Indeed, looking back to the soundwalking chapter, which explored some aspects of the issue, and focusing on the description of the area, one may find urban elements dominating several spots of the centre. Also, areas have been observed where a semi-urban or rural environment is dominant. The sonic effect of masking is observed to play a crucial role in this debate: for example, when a distant traffic sound is constantly present in a specific spot, and this is masked from the sound of the birds, it is not easy to characterize the soundscape as rural or urban. Following the observation, however, an analysis of the interviews’ findings towards this matter could share some valuable information concerning the case:

“...the old city has a mosaic structure. At least this is how it is at the time being. In its past, there lived different groups of people here and they lived with different groups and had different ‘processes’ with each other. It’s a city that incorporates many differences, I think what’s nice about it is that it embodies all these differences” (22,Tm).

An interpretation to this interviewee's words could describe the contemporary centre of Nicosia as a multicultural place, which indeed acquires characteristics of a city and a village. These characteristics are also a result of the variety of people who lived in the area in the past and their 'fermentation'. He also calls it a 'city', having however stressed 'village' characteristics throughout the interview, such as silence, a term further explained at a later stage, or the sense that kids are safe and can play around.

“...if I could compare the situation to a village's environment, yes, as far as the silence is concerned, but not regarding the relationships. With the neighbours. Like in the cities, or in more main streets, or blocks of flats, it's not... [a village]”.

“...αν μπορούσα να παρομοιάσω όπως στα χωριά, ναι όσον αφορά την ησυχία, αλλά όχι όσον αφορά τις σχέσεις. Με τους γείτονες. Όπως στις πόλεις, ή σε πιο κεντρικούς δρόμους, οι πολυκατοικίες, δεν υπάρχει πολύ...”  
(23,GCf).

The question whether the area of interest is regarded acquiring village or city characteristics, appears of great importance in the process of exploring the research questions, especially at this introducing stage. The exploration of the character of the area is assisted by the map which is generated in a following chapter. As it will be shown, the city center is presented below as rich in both urban and non-urban sounds, according to the exact point a listener/walker/inhabitant might be. Accordingly, during the realisation of the interviews, the term 'neighbourhood' appeared a lot in people's talk about their place, especially in those completed in relatively quiet areas. In the process of analysing whether an urban or semi-urban character can be applied to the case, the data from the interviews regarding the term 'neighbourhood' appears to be helpful.

### **5.1.5 Neighbourhood**

Regarding the sense of neighbourhood in the place, it was often understood as

“... if there is a good relationship or not. It’s not that you don’t like something, or something is wrong and so on. Problems are common. This is very important. In the car [for instance], if you want to park, and someone wants to pass, or whatever, all these are problems of the neighbourhood” (02,EGm).

“...αν έχεις καλή σχέση ή δεν έχεις. Δηλαδή δεν νιώθεις ότι κάτι δε σου αρέσει ή κάτι δεν πάει καλά και τα λοιπά. Και τα προβλήματα είναι τα ίδια. Αυτό είναι πολύ σημαντικό. Με το αυτοκίνητο, αν θέλεις να παρκάρεις, αυτός θέλει να περάσει ξερωγώ, όλα αυτά είναι προβλήματα της γειτονιάς” (02,EGm).

He also supports such a sense of neighbourhood using an example:

“I remember when my wife gave birth to our child, we had received many gifts, toys etc. This means having a good relationship [with them]. If something goes wrong, behaviours change. Would you not have a good relationship, you would not offer food, or share food with someone. That’s it”.

“Εγώ θυμάμαι, όταν γέννησε η γυναίκα μου, με το μωρό, μας έχουν φέρει αρκετά δώρα, και παιχνίδια, και άλλα πράγματα. Αυτό σημαίνει καλή σχέση. Αν υπάρχει κάτι που πάει στραβά ξερωγώ, η συμπεριφορά θα είναι αλλιώς. Δεν νομίζω ότι θα είχες καλή σχέση, δε θα είχες καλή σχέση και θα προσφέρεις φαί, ή θα μοιραστείς, έτσι το λέμε, φαί με κάποιον. Αυτό είναι” (02,EGm).

The concept of neighbourhood is defined within the concept of solidarity interactions found and preserved among people, as Schwirian and Schwirian would argue (Schwirian & Schwirian, 1993). Tuan has also argued that *‘learning to know the neighborhood requires the identification of significant localities, such as street corners and architectural landmarks, within the neighborhood space. Objects and places are centers of value. They attract or repel in finely shaded degrees. To attend to them even momentarily is to acknowledge their reality and value’* (Tuan Y.-F. , 1977, p. 18). The interviewees identified themselves with architectural landmarks such as the Selimiye Mosque or the old cinema as (07,GCm) indicated, which no longer exist. The Centre of Arts also made its appearance in the interviews twice as a

centre of value, when both (01,GCm) and (02,EGm) mentioned it in order to describe sound-related activity in their area.

The described sense of neighborhood is also expressed in other ways. A worker in the area supports:

“...that everybody loves me. Should I leave the place here for a while, taking the bicycle, and leave everything open [means doors, windows etc.], there is no problem, no problem at all. You know? This way the soldiers trust me, I trust them. There is no... Maybe elsewhere... Especially with the soldiers” (09,GCm).

“...ότι όλοι αγαπούν με. Να φύγω που δαμέ τωρά, να πιάσω το ποδήλατο, να τ’ αφήσω όλα ανοιχτά, δεν έχω πρόβλημα, δεν έχω κανένα πρόβλημα. Κατάλαβες; Κι έτσι οι στρατιώτες έχουν μου εμπιστοσύνη, κι εγώ έχω τους. Δεν υπάρχει... Μπορεί αλλού, σου είπα να πάω και να κάμω... Προπάντων με τους στρατιώτες...” (09,GCm).

It was also supported that the solidarity between the inhabitants within the neighborhood could remind of family relations:

“With all the neighbours, we are like one family” (10,GCm).

“Με όλους τους γείτονες είμαστε μια οικογένεια” (10,GCm).

On the other hand, a worker in the area when commenting on the concept of neighbourhood suggested:

“It’s not very constructivist, it’s mainly formality... It’s not sincere” (14,Tm).

To represent another tension, (23,GCf) applied the character of the village on the area, noticing however some differences in certain aspects:

“In the villages, they are more connected, they are more... helpful one to another, to have their coffee together. We are not like this. We have our jobs, I have to come back to my house to see my family, I won’t spend time with the neighbour. If I choose to go for a coffee, I ‘ll go to a café” (23,GCf).

“στα χωριά είναι πιο συνδεδεμένοι, είναι πιο... να βοηθήσει ο ένας τον άλλον, να πιουν τον καφέ τους, εμείς δεν έχουμε έτσι. Διότι είναι οι δουλειές μας, να έρθω σπίτι να δω την οικογένειά μου. Δε θα κάτσω με τη γειτόνισσα. Αν θα επιλέξω να πάω να πιω καφέ θα πάω σε ένα καφέ” (23,GCf).

One of the ‘village’ elements, however, that she attaches on the way of life in the area, is that she likes the present situation more than ever, as kids are nowadays able to play the way they used to in the past. However, according to her, the area needs renovation, an issue that also came up in many interviews, especially regarding the initial question, concerning the ambience. A Greek Cypriot artist has another opinion, considering the neighbourhood acquiring a village character:

"Old houses, with roof tiles, something that you don't see in other areas, small houses, a village. That's how I call it, it is a village in the centre of the city, that's how I feel"(01,GCm).

“Παλιά σπίτια, με κεραμίδια, κάτι που δε βλέπεις στις άλλες περιοχές, ε... μικρά σπίτια, ένα χωριό... εγώ έτσι το λέω, είναι ένα χωριό μες στο κέντρο της πόλης. Έτσι νιώθω” (01,GCm).

Justifying the ‘village’ character, another interviewee (02,EGm) agrees that neighbours have a very good relationship, something that is often being acknowledged throughout the interviews. An interviewee prefers to regard the area as a part of the city, although it is a ‘quiet’, as she characterises it, ‘neighbourhood’. She further explains this statement and states:

“They are polite, we can talk at the parking area if we meet, or at the park, but I won’t go... - if I miss something at the house, I will not go and ask from the neighbour here, you know what I mean? ... We'll talk, we'll sit down and chat, but no more, I will not try to meet, or have any more intense relationship, it is also due to the age issue...” (24,GCf).

The same person belongs to the small minority who considers the definition of a ‘city’ closer to the area of interest. Being asked about that, she replied:

“The city... Nothing to do with a ‘village’. Because the relationship between the neighbours is different”.

“Στην πόλη... Καμία σχέση με χωριό. Επειδή οι σχέσεις μεταξύ των γειτόνων είναι διαφορετικές” (24,GCf).

However, after a while, she concludes:

“Well, I feel that it’s a bit dif... this area is a bit different, it’s not the same as the other neighbourhoods. It’s a bit isolated here. You’re kind of alon [meaning distanced] from the neighbours. I don’t know. It refers to something different”.

“Έμ, έτσι νιώθω ότι είναι δ.. και είναι και διαφορετική η περιοχή, δεν είναι όπως άλλες γειτονιές. Είναι λίγο πιο απομονωμένα. Εδώ, από τους γείτονες, είσαι λίγο πιο μόνος σου, να το πω; Δεν ξέρω, με παραπέμπει σε κάτι το διαφορετικό” (24,GCf).

To sum up, one would say that the characteristics of the area of interest are much closer to the ones found in a semi-urban/rural area, rather than a city, and thus the sense of neighbourhood is enhanced. This is enforced by the attitude the interviewees had during the interviews, showing that there was a ‘feeling of neighborhood’, or community, which Mc Millan and Chavis describe as ‘*a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment to be together*’ (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). This feeling was observed and proven rather often during the interviews, not only directly, but also through other ways, as for example when interviewees were describing everyday activities (see relevant chapter). Non verbal expression during the interviews also helped for this outcome to be extracted. The fact that such attitude was expressed before even starting commenting on sound is remarkable, as it is shown later on.

Introducing the sound aspect within the discussion on the neighbourhood, (22,Tm) characteristically declared:

“...some nights when I am sleeping, next door neighbour’s child starts crying. (laughs) I mean, ok, that is also a nice sound (laughs) but it is hard at that time of the night.”

Having analysed the introductory data, necessary to introduce the inhabitants’ way of evaluating their area, although not sound-related, it is now safe to recall essential elements of the research questions so that the main analysis of the interviews is developed. The analysis of the factors around sound and its advantages or disadvantages on the area, would lead the thesis to discover the nature of the rich-in-variety community that lives in the place across the line, after having analysed how the area sounds like, as this was formed by the interviews obtained. In order for the description of the variety of the sounds in the area to be directly described and referred to, and also in order to facilitate the reference to the soundscapes, the research proceeds in creating the term ‘Acoustic Image’ of the city to describe the above. The term differs from the term ‘soundscape’ in that it also includes people’s attitude towards the sounds, and demonstrates characteristics of the place too.

## **5.2 Acoustic Image of the Place of the centre of Nicosia**

In order to properly explore the area of interest and adequately describe the acoustic properties of the place, an appropriate analysis would constitute a first attempt to explore: what does the city centre of Nicosia sound like? To approach a response to this question, an analysis of the interviewees’ reflections on the sounds they hear in the area in an everyday basis is necessary, combined with the data obtained from the observation and the soundwalk. During the interviews, people replied by using well-defined answers about their attitude towards sound when asked, despite their surprise and confusion upon hearing such a topic at the beginning of our encounter. Asking the inhabitants to carefully think of what they hear in their everyday life and talk about it contained a certain challenge. The complexity of such a matter to some interviewees was vividly described by one:

“they asked a centipede ‘which leg do you first start walking with’ and it forgot to walk from thinking about it [meaning that it found it confusing to decide which leg it should start from, so it was blocked]. As you know [it] has

got 40 feet and it walks, this is like installing a consciousness on it of which leg do you use first and which leg do you use then?... The centipede would not walk... (laughs)” (22,Tm).

However, after reflecting twice or more on the questions, interviewees managed to focus on sound and respond extensively on the subject. To commence this analysis at this point, in the first place, it would be useful to examine the sounds that are audible in the area, and as stated in the very first chapter also, to classify them in the foreground, the background, or attach any other characteristic of multi-functionality to them, exactly as Acoustic Ecology has introduced. Therefore, the research now divides the sounds observed in these categories while analysing them. In a next level, differentiated categories evolve in order to better understand the acoustic image of the place. Such variations in the formation of the categories facilitate the deep comprehension of how the area under study resonates, and what sound qualities are present.

### **5.2.1 Sounds (foreground, background, sound signals)**

Schafer’s vocabulary and categorization system are used as an initial guide to create a qualitative ‘log’ of the sounds forming the acoustic image of the place. Although this study examines the soundscape in a sense-oriented direction, focusing on the listening as a multipart experience more than the sense of hearing itself, it was considered that beginning with a plain description of the soundscape would set a basis for the complete description of the detailed sound characteristics of the place. The categorization evolved from the observation, and sonic effects such as masking and cut out facilitated the organization in these categories. Also, the interviewees often used anamnesis when discussing about sound, a fact that confirmed the flexibility of each sound belonging in the respective category – a background sound can be considered as foreground when remembered and vice versa.

#### **5.2.1.1 *Foreground***

As it would have been expected, the sounds of the Azan and the church bells which resonate in the area were mentioned many times: Also, they were mostly found at the first place of the inhabitants’ responses, a factor which would lead their categorization

in foreground sounds. These, along with several others, religion-related but less characteristic sounds, such as human activity (walking, chatting, sounds of prey) during religious ceremonies were frequently reported. However, due to their distinctive role and their major importance on the acoustic image of the place, these and their effects are explored in a next chapter. The rest of the sounds which were observed and/or stated to be part of the foreground are analysed below, placed in categories according to their source.

- Human Voices

The voices of the people were among the sounds reported in the first place. These appeared not only as ‘noticeable’, but also in other ways, in which certain voices of characteristic people of the area were accurately described: a blind vendor man who sells vegetables in the northern part, or a disabled girl visiting some inhabitants in very standard hours. Voices that are characteristic have been described also by (01,GCm), regarding the voice of a specific man wandering around the area asking for a cigarette. The loud call by the sellers appeared many times: As (05,Tm) declared about the doner seller,.. the phrase ‘Doner, come here, come here!’ is usual. In this respect, (17,TCm) reported the voice of street vendors shouting ‘Mahallebici, Sulu Mahallebici’ which used to appear more frequently in the past.

As already outlined in the theoretical background, McLuhan had stressed the importance of words as ‘...*complex systems of metaphors and symbols that translate experience into our uttered or outered senses.. By means of translation of immediate sense experience into vocal symbols the entire world can be evoked and retrieved at any instant*’ (McLuhan, 1964, p. 57). These exact words of the sellers are the ones which become connected with the sound experience created in the area. More precisely, one can picture a moving sound source along Nicosia, also crossing the borders, which articulates specific words and the listening world perceives them accordingly. Such sound sources appear to be forming a vital part of the sound of the place of the city centre, at least regarding the human voice appearing in the foreground.

Less distinctive sounds which, however, belong to the foreground sound environment, were reported by (05,TCm), who almost complained about the sound of the children running around and playing at the marbles of the area. So did (17,TCm), who reported the presence of too many children’s sounds/voices. Also, the sound of children’s voices was reported in the case of (21,Tf) who, however, distinguished her own voice

dominating the soundscape, for many hours of the day. The baby's cry has been present in the area, both observed and stated.

“...Children make noise. Of course the children will make noise” (21,Tf).

(22,Tm) reported the neighbour's child crying being audible in the neighbourhood. In the category of voices, (04,GCm) and (10,GCm) also repeatedly complained about the noise people make in Faneromeni Square, in the night-time. Accordingly, (05,Tm) spoke about the sound of the tourists, walking and speaking, also outlining the voice of the imam that comes out as one of the first to this interviewee's mind. (17,TCm), living in the north part of the city reported some announcements/calls that are heard from the south, apart from the sounds of the bells, which are heard regularly. Lastly, he reported the street vendors, who make their appearance all around Nicosia. The voice of the vendor was also reported by (04,GCm) who described the sound of a vendor dramatically “eho<sup>15</sup>..., eho..., eho...”. (07,GCm) also reported voices and ‘noise’- in terms of unwanted loudness in the foreground coming from people's voices. (19,Tm) complained over occasional demonstrators' voices that reach to his ears, as his place lies exactly on the Buffer Zone.

The sound of the languages and their sonic varieties observed in the area was also a noteworthy element observed in the area, something that people talked about. Mostly in the southern part, people talked about the languages' sound. (05,TCm) hears many languages in the area, and he also makes connections with the political situation at the island, with the European tourists and the migrants, stressing the similarity of the Cypriot language all over the island, while differentiating its sounds from official Greek and Turkish, respectively.

#### Work-related Activity/Machinery

At the area, as it has been described, there are many workplaces and mechanic shops, especially in the northern part of the city. The sound of these places also influence the foreground sounds as a part of the overall sound of the place. Furthermore, they indeed resonate to the ears of the residents/inhabitants. Their characteristic presence has appeared many times during the interviews: (17,TCm) stated that their own job, as

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<sup>15</sup> eho (in greek: έχω) means ‘I have’, which refers to the availability of the products street vendors use to advertise with their voice

they are carpenters, creates loud noise. The noise of the mechanics also appeared, along with the sound of the cars, at certain points, when they leave in the morning and come back at night: “it’s just the mechanics that make noise when they are mending car and it’s that sound which comes out.” (04,GcM). (14,Tm) talked about the sounds one may notice in the area:

“When a foreign person comes here, the sounds that he/she may hear are the noises that come from the workplaces, ... sounds that the shopkeepers/artisans make. Plus the noises that the church or the mosque makes, the sound that vehicles make”. Denying presence of human voices in his area, (17,TCm) also stated about his own sound, the sound of the machinery: “Well, the only sound I hear is my own machines”. The effect of masking, as Augoyard and Torgue (2005) have described it, is applied in this case:

“When those work, no matter which kinds of other noises are around, you don’t get to hear them. And even after you switch it off, that sound stays in your ears for a long while” (17,TCm).

The importance of such a sound which stays in the foreground while it is audible, and moves at the background, in another occasion must not be underestimated. Such a vital part of the place’s soundscape is simply noise for passers-by, which gets away when they go way from that point, but a constant tone for the worker himself, characterizing his experience in place.

- Nature

(15,TCf) talked about the sound of the tree leaves, the birds and the people:

“the tree sings [means birds] they are happy, they sing, the wind sings, and the people around, whenever I look at them...”.

The sound of the chirping birds were mentioned by (01,GcM) also when discussing the soundscape of his area. What appears peculiar, however, is that the presence of birds was obvious and audible during the soundwalk, although not mentioned in the interviews, except for very few cases, like (12,TCm) who enthusiastically reported about the sound of the crows:

“The crows have increased. We now hear the sounds of the crows a little. In the old days, there weren’t any crows in Nicosia.”

- Music and music-related sounds

(20,TCm) mentioned the sound of music, by buskers, who often (every week, as he claims) play in the area. At this point, it is useful to say that many times music has been discussed during the interviews: not only because it is the first thought of someone who is unaware, being suddenly asked about sound, but also because music itself appears to be treated as a sound element of the place. (22,Tm) reported:

“there is a cafeteria here and you hear the music and the people, you walk on the street and you hear a guy whistling. And especially in the Islam history, changing the churches to mosques and mosques to churches is a thing” (22,Tm).

- Animal Sounds

(16,TCm) mentioned the melody of the rooster situated next to his place, and the mosque, after this. The sound of cats quarrelling or calling for reproduction is present in the area, and dominates the soundscape at certain hours, mostly during the morning hours, as (08,Gcm) supported. There were also recalls from the past, regarding donkeys or roosters who were present in the area, and now they are gone:

“The donkeys, the cats... I was a child, you know, I was happy. I was very happy with them, I was playing” (15,TCf).

(28,Gcm) also reported animal sounds from the past. The sounds of dogs are reported frequently in the area, as (01,Gcm), (23,GCf) and (24,GCf) have illustrated them, resulting in forming a dynamic element of the acoustic identity of the area.

### ***5.2.1.2 Foreground & Background***

Except for the sounds that are easily categorized in the foreground environment, these with properties that change, like the sound of the carpenters’ tools, which can move from the foreground to the background and vice versa exist in the area in people’s

ears. (18,TCf) argued about the ‘tack-tack-tack’ sound of the carpenters, that is already always there, in the background. The sound of the kids who are playing football as (22,Tm) mentioned can also be placed at this category. The sound of the ball upon the church wall, or its resonance on the ground can catch one’s attention at a first level, but, later on, it moves on the background. Moreover, the sound of the dogs, according to the interviewees, is something that someone can get used to, and set in the background most of the times.

In addition, music coming from concerts is another sound that moves from the foreground to the background, especially in the summer. There are buskers, and there are also formal concerts, organized by the municipality, which fill up the fore and background soundscape of the city centre. (08,GCm) reported on the cats, the sound of the backgammon and the music of a close cafe in the area, and described them as sounds that are often noticed in the background.

### **5.2.1.3 Traffic**

As sounds referring to vehicles were often described, the sound of traffic was proven important to be analysed. Areas where both light and heavy traffic are audible were also reported. (15,TCf) described the sound of it. stating that machines “...and some motorcycles - cars, around” are audible. (02,EGm) also reported on the sound of the motorbike, that can be very disturbing in a silent place. In this respect, (08,GCm) mentioned the car horns which often appear when passing by the area. Calling data from the soundwalk, the area could be divided in smaller parts, where someone could distinguish a place characterized by heavy traffic sound, or light one, often disturbed by sudden crosses of noisy vehicles. This could prove the transition from foreground to background environment and vice versa. (18,TCf) said that

“there is a lot of empty noise [meaning noise pollution] and racket...there is a constant vehicle noise...There is no order. There is empty/meaningless noise and there is a sound cluster which is for nothing.”

### **5.2.1.4 Background**

There are certain qualities that are observed in the background soundscape of the area across the Buffer Zone. What has been described at the soundwalk was also noticed during the interviews. Through them, the participants confirmed the findings of the listening section of the research: (05,TCm) reported some cars, and also referred to the noise of the air cleaner system:

“not too many cars, because the cars, over here... there are too many cars passing in front of my place, over here. So when cars pass, it’s noisy. And also there is a restaurant over here, just behind us, the restaurant’s air cleaner system is making noise. [Checks with his mates]. Yes, air condition system... When it stops - wow!!! we are ok now, we are saying”.

The concept of habituation appearing in this case is analysed in a following chapter. However, it is important that inhabitants get used to background sounds, and learn to live with them, like the case of (09,GCm), who reported on the sound of the cars which appear and disappear, as inhabitants move around the area. On the contrary, confirming the variety of the soundscape of the city centre, when (13,Tm) was asked about the sound of the area, he said:

“I don’t know what to say. All I can say is that it’s beautiful”.

The television from a next door apartment has been also reported as a background sound by (01,GCm). (08,GCm) at the end of the interview referred to a nice reason to categorize this sound in the background sounds and maybe raise awareness on the particularity and the natural beauty of the place:

“The birds... Ok, you don’t notice them a lot. But above our head there is a nest”.

### **5.2.1.5 Radio Presence**

While commenting on the background sounds, it is essential to mention that what forms a part of the sound of Nicosia city centre, especially in the northern part, is the radio sound echoing in sparse workplaces. In fact, by isolating these sounds, a

composition made out of small, low-quality radio devices resonating in the private space of the workplace could be imagined. Especially in the summer, their sound would reach few meters out of the building. For example, in a desert cafe right on the Buffer Zone, the only audible element was a radio sounding from the end of the reverberant space ((19,Tm)'s space). It was on, as no customers were there, but the owner claimed that he turned it off when customers visited his place. Also, in a mechanic's shop (14,Tm), close to this area, the radio was playing, and as the owner said, the radio had been on for almost all day long. Moreover, (21,Tf) explained her attitude towards it:

“if I turn the radio on to the maximum volume and I listen to music, I will sing songs and listen to tunes” (12,TCm).

As it was observed, she owns a small radio transistor, and fills the soundscape of his area, however without mentioning it as a sound source, no matter how many times she was asked about the sounds of her place. The sound of the radio was also observed in (27,GCm) and (32,GCm)'s cases resonating in their personal space, however reaching only to the first meters outside their place.

#### **5.2.1.6 SoundMap**

Southworth (1969) was one of the first to pinpoint the soundscapes of an area on a map, in an effort to evaluate the 'identity' of sounds, taking into account two major communicative properties of sound: 'singularity' and 'informativeness'. In this thesis it was discussed how such properties influence the perception of a city's form and the acoustic image of a place. Later on, Schafer coined the term 'soundmap', having started from 'The Tuning of the World' (1977) and expanding the concept in WSP, as seen in the theoretical background. Till recently, and although technology has allowed the creation of interactive soundmaps which may record and play real sounds, maps are drawn to represent soundscapes (Järviluoma, Truax, Kyto, & Vikman, 2009). Qualitative sound mapping demonstrates the sound variety of the area and creates visual smaller terrains regarding sound, where somebody can directly distinguish the aspects of the soundscape s/he is interested in.

In the case of the city centre of Nicosia, a need for mapping characteristic sounds evolved quickly. Especially, the need for ‘*describing, through sound, space and time the dimensions, and the social and emotional factors related to everyday life*’ (Radicchi, 2013, p. 4) was created. According to the responses obtained on the sounds of the area and their presence in time, a qualitative map was created: The versions of the same map picture the soundscape of the city centre of Nicosia in different ways, and guide the reader to portray the elements that could form the acoustic image of the place. The qualitative map follows the verbal (voice, document and audio media) and pictorial (map, picture, notation) means rather than quantitative means, as explained by Hiramatsu to describe the soundscape. Either way, the method followed was observation and soundwalking, along with the in-depth interviews. Data obtained from the last method are depicted on the maps in the Appendix (7&8). (Hiramatsu, 2009, p. 297)

#### **5.2.1.7 Sound Signals**

What could not be absent from the description of the sound of any place is the demarcation and the analysis of the sound signals of the area. As they reveal a great amount of information about the sound environment of the area, and since certain guidelines derived from soundscape studies have been followed, it appears important to track not only these, but also their context in which they develop. The main sound signals are the religious sounds which resonate in the area: meant to be heard by the community, and meant to symbolize religious and cultural actions, they stand out in the soundscape of the area, and acquire the role of soundmarks, as important sounds for the listeners. More sound signals were observed, though, and their location is depicted on the respective map (Appendix 7).

#### **5.2.1.8 Categorization**

In the process of defining the soundscape of the city center across the line, what would create a potential discussion was the way in which all sounds would be classified in a helpful way for answering the research questions. From what has been written so far, it is supported that a quantitative approach, or a strict categorization would not help us to uncover the relation between sound and meaning to place. Physical parameters, loudness measurements and frequency logs would describe an

aspect of the soundscape, but not the one we are investigating. Besides, results of the analysis converge to show that *“the environmental sounds...can hardly be reduced to a set of physical parameters. In particular, intensity (or even loudness) is not the only nor the most important criterion involved in everyday sound categorization”* (Dubois, Guastavino, & Raimbault, 2006, p. 868). For this reason, the research acquires a qualitative categorization, which outlines sounds which were either observed during the soundwalks or declared during the interviews. Having presented the categorization and the sound signals, another map which would overview the dominant sounds which characterize the soundscape on a map is considered helpful. Such everyday sounds are demonstrated on (Appendix 8).

### **5.2.2 Noise/silence**

The interviews have shown that what could constitute city noise, or elements of a ‘nostalgic’ silence is subjective; it has been subjective throughout the years. No matter how happy people seem describing the sounds of the street vendors, in time, a legislation has seen it (and may also see it) as a noisy element, as an unwanted sound. An example is the case of New York in 1908, where, trying to solve the problem of city noise, *“Bingham issued General Order 47, which called for the enforcement of the numerous and typically unenforced ordinances against particular kinds of noises already written into the city's legal codes. Noises so targeted included the shouts and bells of street vendors, the cries of newsboys, whistles on peanut roasters' carts, and the assorted sounds of roller skaters, kickers of tin cans, automobile horns, automobiles operated without mufflers, and flat-wheeled streetcars”* (Thompson, 1988, p. 124) .

One could not attempt to describe the soundscape of the area across the Buffer Zone if not describing the existing qualities of noise or silence in the area, through the ears of the listeners. An attitude is depicted in the following statement, claiming the difference between day and night, considering traffic sounds as noise:

“...it would calm after four, between four and five, maybe the sound goes down a little so people come here around ... people must shake their hands, they may, you know, they may laugh, they will make their own stories, talk about and make their own sounds and music” (15,TCf).

The thematic fields of noise and silence are presented aiming to help describing the so far explored soundscape, according to what people have supported, and what the listening experience of the researcher has indicated.

### **Noise: unwanted sound**

Approaching noise as a sound that is unwanted, it is essential to bare in mind the subjectivity which applies to the particular denotation. For some people, as it will be indicated below, what may function and be perceived as noise for some, can be a desirable sound to the ears of others. As stated before, workers are conscious that their machines being used during the day are a source of noise themselves. (17,TCm) supported: “I make noise, my work is already very noisy”. Not only the machinery, but also the sound of the traffic, treated as noise, is also important for the identity of the area. The motorcycles appeared frequently in the process. (18,TCf) used her son’s potential response in such a case concerning noise:

“Do you know what my 9-year-old son, who was here a little while ago, would tell if you had asked him this question? I can’t live in a country like this mum [the sound of a motorcycle is heard in the background]. Look, there is a motorcycle noise downstairs. There are unnecessary noises... you need to have sounds that would excite and be affectionate on your ear and soul. But at the moment we don’t possess these”.

She also mentioned the constant presence on her soundscape of these vehicles:

“you know these gigantic motorbikes that the youth ride and the frightening noises that they have, I hear them all the time”.

Noise is also often considered by some interviewees, as the voices of people having fun in the area during the night, placed in a political concept. In this field, singing, shouting or loud talking can be included:

“there are also the outsiders (intruders), the ones making loud sounds. Anarchists who make events... they gather here... in general, the place of

Faneromeni is reachable to all these... unbowed, whom, whether we want them or not, we have to live with them” (10,GCm).

“αλλά υπάρχουν και οι παρείσακτοι, αυτοί με τους δυνατούς τους ήχους... Οι αναρχικοί που κάνουν εκδηλώσεις, που κάνουν... μαζεύονται εδώ... γενικά ο χώρος της Φανερωμένης είναι προσιτός για όλους αυτούς τους... ανυπότακτους, τους οποίους θέλουμε δε θέλουμε, τους βιώνουμε” (10,GCm).

This interviewee, having to deal with this kind of noise in his everyday life, was also among those who declared love for the area, talking with pride about it; for him it is the best place for old Nicosia, and the ‘Queen Capital’ as he calls it. On the contrary, (23,GCf), who is not that happy with the area, deals with this kind of ‘noise’ in a different perspective, mostly when it does not happen too often:

“I like it. It’s not that... Life! They are children. Youth. I like it when it is not frequent” (23,GCf).

On the contrary, (14,Tm) noted that

“There is no meaningful sound here. There are only disturbing noises”,

and then tried to shape a ‘complaint’ about unwanted sound, which can dominate the atmosphere at certain times in the area, when there is noise by people working late, as the carpenter in that case, bothering the residents. He reported a story related to noise-pollution and some troubles he had with the authorities in the past, and further explained:

“So noise pollution has to be in specific places. If it is industrial sounds, it needs to be in the industrial area. If it is residential sounds, it needs to be within certain areas, if it is sound that comes from entertainment places, the nice sounds need to be in the entertainment places. You can reflect it with music without disturbing someone else. You ought to reflect it on your outlook and so on”.

With this remark, a willingness for the creation policy over noise management has been expressed, something that was also observed in other cases. (10,GCm), for example, implied the need for such a desire, narrated the following story:

“Since this is the yard of the church, many consider it as a closed space and say “let’s go to the church yard to talk, chat, smoke”. So they come and stay until... [meaning late]. For example, yesterday, Sunday, they put their beddings and slept there. And they were talking during the whole night. I went to the balcony and shouted at them once... twice... but nothing happened! I went down at five in the morning and they were outside, in the yard, sleeping. Such things happen regularly”.

“επειδή είναι η αυλή της εκκλησίας, πολλοί τη θεωρούν κλειστό χώρο και λένε πάμε στην αυλή της εκκλησίας να μιλήσουμε, να τα πούμε, να τσιγαρίσουμε, και έρχονται εδώ μπορεί να μείνουν μέχρι.... Σαν εχθές την Κυριακή, είχε βάλανε εκεί χαμέ ένα μακαβά και κοιμηθήκαν εκεί, και όλη τη νύχτα εμιλούσαν. Βγήκα στο μπαλκόνι μια δυο φορές και τους φώναξα, τίποτα! Κατέβηκα το πρωί η ώρα πέντε το πρωί και ήταν απέξω από την αυλή και κοιμόντουσαν. Αυτά συμβαίνουν τακτικά” (10,GCm).

In such a wide sense of noise created in the area, law application and crime can be related, as (17,TCm) notes:

“it depends on what you are looking for, if it’s prostitution or if it’s drugs that you are asking, it’s here. Everything you can think of is around this area...” (17,TCm).

In this respect, Greek Cypriot (04,GCm) states:

“People are going mad. They don’t like this kind of quietness. They want noise. Difference. And young people are different. Only drugs... This is how most of them lose control”

“Ο κόσμος πελλανίσκει. Δεν τ’ αρέσκουν κάτι τα έτσι, ησυχίες... θέλουν φασαρίες. Διαφορετικά. Και οι νέοι τώρα είναι διαφορετικοί. Μόνο τα ναρκωτικά, οι παραπάνω είναι έτσι, χάνουν τον έλεγχο” (04,GCm).

The following incident which occurred and described below is also characteristic referring to crime: Approaching a shop keeper to make an interview, and having hardly convinced him about doing it, he seemed scared. He also didn’t let me record any part of the interview. What was impressive, though, was his first and instant response to an introductory, general question regarding the ambience in the area. Having an obviously scared face, he repeatedly stated that

“there is no crime here, no blackmailing, nothing bad happens in the area. Everything goes on peacefully” (03,TCm).

Noise, whether restricted in the ‘loud or unwanted sound’, or it is understood as a more general and theorized category, is undoubtedly a vital element of the soundscape of the area, even if this, during the soundwalks does not appear as such.

### **Silence - wanted or unwanted?**

In contrasto to sound, the concept of silence, has often appeared in the data: either related to calmness, or connected to lack of human presence and desertion. For example, (05,Tm) supported the historical and sacred value of the place declaring silence:

“I think this area must be silent and empty. Completely”.

(13,Tm) stated happiness about the absence of sound- and trouble- in the area due to municipality actions:

“the shopping area is closed to cars and it is a nice thing. It’s nice and calm like this. There is no trouble”.

(04,GCm) also describes the area as silent during the morning hours, while comparing them to the busier noon. For him, the silence of the place is valuable, a statement with

which (07,GCm) agrees, characterizing silence as one of his favorite sounds. (08,GCm) and (09,GCm) also describe the place as silent. Searching for the nice elements of the place, (23,GCf) mentioned:

“Principally, I enjoy the fact that there is silence”.

It appears crucial to study this matter focusing on the points where interviewees stated that they missed some sounds, also defining them as village sounds and connecting them to silence.

(01,GCm) stated about the presence of activity in his area, and consequently the silence which is generated:

“Me, my plants and God”.

“Εγώ, τα φυτά, και ο Θεός” (01,GCm),

analysing the silence of the neighbourhood, referring however not only to the objective soundscape, but also to a more sensory experience, stating calmness and peace. On the other hand, a different approach to silence has been observed. (18,TCf) stated:

“...in the past, when I used to come here as a customer, I had difficulty to walk as the people were very crowded. But at the moment ... it's very much dead... it's an abandoned place.”

An analysis regarding this sense of abandonment which emerged in the interviews is presented in a following chapter.

### **Imaginary/Unheard Sound (ses<sup>16</sup>)**

The word ‘sound’ can acquire meanings which are more complex than just ‘what we hear’ not only in an academic environment, but also in the minds of the interviewees.

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<sup>16</sup> ‘ses’ in the Turkish language means not only sound, but also ambience. As a result, it was many times confusing for the interviewees to specifically answer the question, while some other times they were commenting on the whole ambience of the place.

Especially in Turkish, the word 'ses' is used in various ways. Besides, it was mentioned likewise by (18,TCf):

“...‘sound’ has a very comprehensive meaning for me... it can both be and mean an emotion, noise or feeling...”

Among those interviewed, there has similarly been an opportunity to talk about the sound of the area in more abstract ways, as if the sound represented the ambience (as stated in the beginning), it was said:

“You hear people’s voices a lot here. You hear their outcries a lot. You hear their cries of financial difficulties, unemployment a lot. We have a lot of young people. I see the youngsters and I can see their struggle to find work and the hope they carry. And actually it’s something like a silent cry that they have...I can tell you that, no where you’d go you can’t hear anything good” (18,TCf).

Later, the same person supported about the “ambience” and the attitude in the area which is mirrored in the soundscape also:

“... when someone is leaving everyone reflects their anger on the sound of their vehicle. They make their engines roar to leave earlier because they get angry. There is always this silent thing here... Among all the shopkeepers here, whether in an emotional or financial or spiritual sense, whether through speech or even the music that is played here live twice a week, even with the people who come here to play that music, you can always hear the sense boredom as if they are playing the songs to the walls. So I think these are all like an outcry of despair or something. So things here do not stir any feelings inside me anymore.” (18,TCf)

### **5.2.3 The soundmarks**

One cannot form an image of the quality of soundscape of the place disregarding the important sounds which characterize the area.

### 5.2.3.1 *Important sounds*

The research struggled to trace the characteristic sounds of the area, either in terms of importance, in terms of meaning, or in a sense of which sound first comes to mind when someone is in the area. This strategy was designed likewise in order to explore which sounds would obtain characteristics of soundmarks, as defined by acoustic ecology. Before stating the first characteristic soundmarks of the place, it would be useful at this point to remind the concept of soundmark: it concerns a unique community sound which is characterized by qualities that make it specially noticed by the listeners within that community; consequently, a soundmark needs to be preserved and protected, as to keep its cultural and historical value. (Truax, 1999). To trace the soundmarks themselves, in the first stage important sounds are traced through the interviews.

It seems that the area is demarcated by resonating announcements at some spots during some days, which are made for a ‘management’ of groups either this is an army camp or a school:

(24,GCF) reports:

“Sometimes, if I stay at home, I will listen to announcements from the Pancyriot [school], (laughs) made by the director. That’s kind of disturbing. ‘There will be a gathering, you will be out of classes to go there’, or ‘Student X is requested to come to my office’. Ok, they are not a lot. The bell is also audible”.

“Ακούω κάποιες φορές, αν θα μείνω σπίτι, ανακοινώσεις από το Παγκύπριο [σχολείο], (γέλια) που κάνει η διευθύντρια. Αυτό είναι λίγο ενοχλητικό... Θα υπάρχει συγκέντρωση, θα βρεθείτε εκτός από τις τάξεις να πάμε στη συγκέντρωση, ή ‘Ο μαθητής τάδε στο γραφείο’. Ντάξει, δεν είναι πάρα πολλές οι ανακοινώσεις, και το κουδούνι ακούγεται”.

(17,TCm) notices the sound of an announcement travelling from south to north, ranking it in importance after the church bell:

“Well, the sounds we hear from the other side are- number one, bell rings, and then, I don’t know it is from the municipality or they buy or sell something and they call”.

A key concept on this phenomenon is that when announcing a message referring to a certain group in open air, somebody cannot restrain the sound in this field, so the sound –and the message- become audible by non – interested listeners, who are exposed to it. This may not be the definition of ‘cultural and historical significance’, as bells and their meanings change, but for sure it concerns a type of community which the message is directed to, and a bigger one which is exposed to it. More significantly, it stresses the importance and the questionability of the acoustic boundaries which were explored in the theoretical background.

#### **5.2.3.2 Religious Soundmarks**

The area of study is characterized by two major religious soundmarks: *the call to prayer* and *the church bells*, both of which resonate all over the divided city center. At this point, it is important to stress that both observation and the process of the interviews resulted in understanding their precious role in the character of the sound of the place. The debate on these two sounds, and more precisely, the way people give meaning to them, and consequently, to their place through them, takes place in the relevant chapter, so the interaction between them and the community is effectively presented. At this stage, though, as the sound of the place is described, it is considered important to state these sounds’ significance to people’s attitude over their place, and to raise their importance for the place in general, as their frequent resonance allows us to do so.

#### **5.2.4 A ‘Dead Place’?**

The sound of the place of the city centre across the Dead Zone would have been sufficiently described until this point, had there not been a sense of an ‘untold feeling’ related to sound during the interviews. This ‘feeling’ has been inspired by the content of the discussions on sound mostly, but also by a personal attitude created towards the sounds of the city when conducting the research. A complete description of the

soundscape, however, would also need a more abstract approach, constructed by the data obtained.

The area has been frequently declared 'dead' or 'abandoned' due to the lack of the textures of sound, as sound would signify human presence. (24,G Cf) talked about a 'quiet' place, and the meaning of the word 'quiet' or 'silent' in many of the interviews was also observed, making it important to be expanded. This type of existing silence - or non-silence in the area is connected to the attitude people have towards their place. Examining this aspect, it is noticeable that their attitude regarding silence varied from one interviewee to another. Some of them love it and bless themselves for staying at such a quiet place in the very centre of the city, while others complain about the absence of people and activity, calling it a 'Dead Place'.

Of course, these phenomena are observed in a certain distance from the crossing gate, which is a really busy area. In qualities which have been observed in areas that are not that far one from the other, the difference in the sound sometimes appears to be major. According to this, and as the map has indicated, one could also separate the area to study it in zones: a quiet zone, a busy - regarding the people zone, and a busy zone regarding the car traffic. Variability is also found in the different hours during the day: a quiet square during the day can be a noisy area by youngsters having fun, or drunks shouting and quarrelling during the night: As (10,G Cm) quotes:

“On the other hand, there is a sense of bitterness, mostly observed in the northern part of the city, regarding the care that has been offered by the municipality to the area... If you ask me, this is an abandoned area (laughs)... In the past it was lively, now, everyone is moving out of this place. Recently, there are some tourists. But even they...”

and another interviewee agrees that

“Now, there is no ministry of environment, no municipality.” (17,TCm)

The emptiness was also stressed by a mechanic who works in the northern part of the city:

“It is a dead place, what can I feel about it? No humans pass from here. No one is here.’, ‘There is no problem, look it’s all peaceful and quiet here. It’s all fine.” (12,TCm)

A requirement for attention by the inhabitants of the area has been observed, regarding renovation:

“In terms of atmosphere, if everything would get restored, I mean the old buildings...” (17,TCm),

which would be later confirmed by (26,TCm), stating that

“...unfortunately not enough importance is given to this place”.

Part of the soundscape of the city centre correlates with sound and place in the following quote:

“here, it’s... people talking, traffic, ...bells and the imam, kind (means a mix) of noise, birds, sometimes, because we got the trees here, so birds- there is a big difference here, between the place I live...” (20,TCm).

The discussion about sound triggers discussion about place, and to some cases, comparisons between the place where someone lives and the place under study:

“I mean, these situations usually happen when you live away from the place you were born. You might live somewhere and if you happen to go and live elsewhere, these memories cause a different effect but I was always here. So, I always lived here” (22,Tm).

As it happens in inhabited places, in the case of the area under study also, the soundscape changes during the various time slots of the day. Sometimes, this peculiar silence affects other everyday life, also:

“...during the day, the old city is a touristic, a place to sight-see but at nights there is a very different energy here. Once it has calmed down, a different world is formed here in the old city” (22,Tm).

As the research wishes to focus on the community of the area of the city centre across the Buffer Zone, it will focus on other types of categorizations which will be more helpful regarding the exploration of the research questions. The analysis has so far described the sound of the specific place in detail, trying not to leave any hidden information behind, according to the data that has been obtained, both by interviewing and observation.

### **5.3 A Community around Sound**

As it has been stressed in the theoretical background, one of the strategies selected by the research has been to approach the ethnic communities living in the city centre of Nicosia as a whole community which lives in the place, with regard to the inhabitants' exposure to the same - or to the ones of the same quality sounds of the area. Acoustic properties or qualities, soundmarks and signals, experience and space would be some of the aspects shared by this particular community. Besides, as Day would agree on Parson's statement, the inter-belonging of oneself in more than one community, and the formation of each of them as such is common: *'According to Parsons, all societies are patterned into communities, and all individuals will belong to some such community or communities. Communities could be organized at various levels of inclusiveness, and some communities might contain others'* (Day, 2006, p. 13). In this respect, the research approached the community and was developed and conducted in a way that all members were treated primarily as place inhabitants and listeners of the same sound environment, and then as members of the ethnic community they belonged to (i.e. Turkish Cypriot, Armenian, Greek Cypriot, EU migrants etc.). In order to interpret the behaviour and explore the identity of this community, as implied by the bibliographical review, the analysis in this chapter explores the physical and social bonds attaching the people to the place, and in a next level it intends to thoroughly describe and summarise their everyday activity. Furthermore, it examines reported sound memories connecting the community to their place through history. Finally, the sense of belonging within its members is analysed in accordance with an

evolving collective soundmark, or a group of soundmarks. As the term 'acoustic' is applied on the community, it is essential that during the analysis, common references on sound are made regarding the elements that define these aspects. Before illustrating the analysis of the community, it appears crucial to clarify at this point the exact approach to the term 'soundmark', and the soundmarks themselves in the current research:

A soundmark, being a vital element for an acoustic community defines the community itself, and is characterized by the community's dynamic interrelations between the members. Knowing, already from the observation that the soundmarks which travel along the borders and are audible to the inhabitants are the sound of the bell and the sound of the azan, and keeping in mind that they already, by definition meet the requirements of a sound worth of preservation, these two are further analysed in the next chapter. Before reaching this point, the research wishes to figure out whether there are any other soundmarks applying to this community, and, if yes, how these could renegotiate their role in the area. Such a procedure will enable the analysis to include all the sounds which are connected to the community.

#### **- The Acoustic Community/neighbours**

A term defining community as '*that combination of social units and systems that perform the major social functions having locality relevance*' (Warren, 1963, p. 9) may not be sufficient to describe the acoustic community under study that lives in the area. Structures may be evident, but the dynamics regarding the relationships among the inhabitants are the ones which thoroughly attribute community characteristics to the people of the area under study. However, Day supports that the term community is indeed '*elastic and various in its meanings, (and) the idea of community continues to ... grow in significance as it takes on new applications*' (Day, 2006, p. 1). In this respect, and keeping in mind what has been analysed in the theoretical background about the character of the acoustic community, an approach with regard to the sound environment where the community lives is intended.

It is essential to examine the physical and social bonds, as it has been stressed in the theoretical framework, but also work on other issues that are more specified and discovered in this research: Such issues would include aspects evolving during everyday life, the sense of belonging which is developed among the members of the community or the connections they make with respect to certain acoustic memories they have regarding history, and clearly their personal stories.

### 5.3.1 Community Physical Bonds (time & space)

#### spending time in the area

As it has been outlined, the population of the area mostly includes Greek Cypriots in the southern part of the city, Turkish Cypriots and Turkish in the northern part, whereas other minor ethnic communities may also be found in the area. A non negligible number of these people lives and/or works in the area: The ones who work there live in other areas around Nicosia, or even further, while the ones who live there are absent during the working hours, as their workplace is not around. Both cases, however, spend a respectable amount of time there, enough, at least, to characterise them as part of the particular community. Time zones would include the four, as the research has previously divided them, periods where distinct sound activity would take place. The community under study appears to be spending considerable time in place for two or more of these zones.

Regarding the attitude towards the place and its connection to the time spent in the area, it seems important to report on a case that may show a general attitude obtained by the researcher:

A man who spends 24 hours in the area, as he who both lives and works right there as a tavern owner, although having complaints about the noise during the nights, appears to feel comfortable within the community, and to show pride for being part of the ‘best place’, as he describes it. Situated in Faneromeni Square, he identifies himself as one of the ‘old ones’ in the neighbourhood:

“For us, the old ones, who know the life here, it is the queen capital, it is the best place of the old Nicosia” (10,GCm).

“Για μας τους παλιούς που ξέρουμε τη ζωή εδώ, είναι η βασιλεύουσα πρωτεύουσα, είναι ο καλύτερος τόπος της παλιάς Λευκωσίας” (10,GCm).

But how can it still be considered as ‘the best place’ if he complains about it? The aforementioned interviewee has been living in the area for 54 years, and is present on the spot day and night. No matter if he is an exception on the participants’ responses, it appeared that his feeling about this ‘best place’ represents an intense part of the people spending their time there. Except for the numerical data available in this chapter, what would confirm such a statement is an comment made by the researcher: During the interviews, it came up that people appear to have a deep connection with

the place, on the exact area where the interviews were held, even if the nature of this connection was not always described as the most fulfilling. In many cases, inhabitants mentioned issues regarding the aspects which were analysed before; however, the feeling the ethnographer got - from the non verbal communication too- was suggesting that the interviewees spent several hours per day in the area, and was sufficient to acquire a strong opinion about the soundscape and develop bonds with the rest of the acoustic community. Therefore, many interviewees stated that they spend a lot of time in the place: what was strongly supported concerned the fact that their time in the place varied at a range from five to fourteen hours, while only in very few cases there were people staying there for one or two hours, only some times per week. Of course, there were also few others, like a tavern owner who boasted of his constant, twenty four hours presence in the place. Even the use of plural, although speaking about himself, would suggest the existence of strong bonds with the place and a sense of collectiveness within the community. During this time, people devote themselves to their everyday activities and like to stress their role and presence in the place as inhabitants by themselves. Further to this, it was also observed that people felt comfortable and proud to declare their long-time presence there. It was observed, both in their nonverbal communication but also in their sayings, that they would indeed obtain a sense of belonging to the place and the community.

Having accomplished the interviews, one may understand that the physical bonds of the interviewed community living in the area regarding the time spent are tight, both in terms of long-term presence and average hours per day spent in the area.

### **location related to the sources which generate the soundmarks**

The interviewees who were chosen to take part in the research were selected so that their ears were potentially exposed to the majority of sounds previously observed in the area, and even more importantly, to the religious soundmarks that resonate there. Indeed, it was found that everyone was able to listen to both the imam's call to prayer and the church bells at 'certain points during the day'. The one person (24,GCf) who declared that she did not hear any church bells regularly would just confirm the status in the present research, that the religious soundmarks are audible throughout the area studied. As she said,

“even though there are a thousand churches here, no, I can’t listen (to their bells)”.

As the respective map in Appendix, 6 shows, the interviews that took place concern people who live or work next to the buildings which resonate the soundmarks (churches marked with the blue square and mosques with the red star), and were also realized in the spot where each interviewee lived/worked. This fact facilitated the purposive and snowball method, as the interviewees know more people around their close neighbourhood, but also it actually helped to investigate the research questions using participants who were close to the soundmarks, so these were audible. Considering the actual objective location in the space and the answers obtained, which confirmed the audibility of the soundmarks in these spots, one could safely imply that the acoustic community, as it is defined by these two religious sounds from a geographically point of view, spreads along this area. Accordingly, the selection sufficiently represents the inhabitants living or working there, who can actually hear their (common) soundscape.

### **5.3.2 Community Social Bonds**

#### **neighbours | visitors | conversations | attitude (towards the sound of the place)**

At this stage, the analysis needs to clarify the nature and the various features of the social bonds shared by the members of the acoustic community. To achieve this, the answers of the inhabitants’ responses were initially approached by taking into account their connection with their neighbours through the sound events taking place in the neighbourhood, taking therefore the research in the desirable sound-oriented level. In a second level, the analysis consists of the effect of these sounds on their attitude towards their neighbourhoods, respectively. Then, it proceeds to the examination of the inhabitants’ relationship with the visitors and the conversations which take place, related to their resonance. In the end, the attitude of the inhabitants towards the place is revealed and studied under the prism of the sonic environment of the area.

#### **neighbours**

In certain spots of the area under study, the houses are situated so close to each other, that only a thin wall separates the neighbouring rooms of the next-door houses. As indicated by the research, this may result in a creation of a ‘sonically transparent’ border, which obtains characteristics of a negligible non-obstacle for the inhabitants

of these spaces. This also appears to have its own effects on the bonds developed by the members of the community, since privacy becomes non achievable in favour of the public, in these areas, and the sense of neighbourhood, as mentioned before, is also enforced.

“The houses are so close to each other, that you are literally in your neighbour’s house. If someone asks something from you, either if you want it or not, you give it to him/her, as you know them, you exchange, things. Or maybe when Mrs Irini talks on the phone next door, swearing at her daughter, I hear the whole conversation. Or the other one may not hear very well as she’s old, she puts the TV on very loud and I listen to it.” (#1)

“τα σπίτια είναι τόσο κολλητά που είσαι μες στο γείτονα, μες στο σπίτι του γείτονα, σου ζητά ο άλλος, θέλοντας και μη τον ξέρεις, ανταλλάζεις πράματα, μπορεί να μιλά στο τηλέφωνο η κυρία Ειρήνη δίπλα, να βρίζει την κόρη της κι εγώ να ακούω όλη τη συνομιλία, ή μπορεί να μην ακούει καλά γιατί είναι γριά, βάζει την τηλεόραση στο διαπασών ας πούμε, ακούω την τηλεόραση” (#1)

Sound events, either being expected to occur or already occurring, exist around the neighbourhood, signifying actions related to the development of the sense of neighbourhood and the bonds of the acoustic community:

“Her daughter rings the bell and says: “We will be absent for ten days, please keep an eye on our house”, for example. “If you notice anything strange or if you hear something, give us a call”.

“Βαράει το κουδούνι η κόρη της, μου λέει θα λείψουμε για δέκα μέρες, σε παρακαλώ έχε ένοια το σπίτι για παράδειγμα, άμα δεις κανένα παράξενο ή άμα ακούσεις κάτι πάρε μας τηλέφωνο” (01,Gcm).

In this piece of interview, the essence of the information can be based on the sound itself: without noticing, the speaker reports on the bell declaring the presence and action of another community member: It is also this prominent sound of the bell, or the expectation of a phone call from the neighbor that demarcates the communication

and establishes the strong connection among the neighbors, As indicated by the speaker later on, these are actions of solidarity.

One could say that most people interviewed had a bond of strong nature towards their place - this would be expressed through comments praising the importance of the area, or through negative remarks on lack of parking, tourists, or respect by the people. Additionally, as it was already shown in the first chapter of the analysis, a sense of neighbourhood is translucent in the area, and it was towards this situation that the question has been aiming: Having been asked at the early stage of the conversation, the interviewees questioned themselves, or thought extensively on their general attitude towards their environment, so that they could potentially recall or question the first impressions when the discussion would come to sound. Also, it has been intriguing to observe whether people would refer to sound (the religious soundmarks, silence, cars) themselves without being asked to, or whether they would let the interviewer proceed to that question. Below, some connections between this attitude of the community towards their place and the soundscape are explored. Also, at many stages during the interviews, the issue of renovation came up, as a following thought when commenting on the silence of the area:

“There are houses, for instance, which I don’t know if they belong to someone: they are ruins, it’s a pity, they need to repair them, give them to the youth to upgrade them. The area is already being upgraded, but there is... and the street here, they have not repaired the facades. Many facades and other streets have already been repaired, but it would be good to maintain the houses”.

“Έχει σπίτια ας πούμε, που δεν ξέρω εάν ανήκουν σε κάποιον, που είναι ερείπια, ε κρίμα, πρέπει να τα φτιάξουν, να τα δώσουν σε νέους να αναβαθμίσουν, ήδη αναβαθμίζεται η περιοχή, αλλά έχει... και η οδός εδώ, δεν έχουν φτιάξει τις προσόψεις μας. Πολλές προσόψεις, και άλλους δρόμους εφτιάξαν τες, αλλά είναι καλά να συντηρούν τα σπίτια” (24,GCf).

In the cases of such complaints, which were not few, someone can distinguish an active and energetic community questioning its place identity through sound, therefore it appears appropriate to quote Day: *‘patterns of economic and social restructuring (can put) communities under pressure, and possibly even (undermine)*

*the general hold of communal values*' (Day, 2006, p. 151). Although the field for an analysis towards this matter appears challenging, the research wishes to explore the other sound-related factors which participate in the forming of the bonds of the community, and then focus on soundmarks which do or do not characterize it.

### **visitors**

One could not consider that the relationship with the tourists would not be powerful, as the city centre already acquires the character of a tourist place. Thus, the presence of visitors in the area might - in a first level - mean financial profit for the workers as well as life/human presence for the ones who live there. In a second level, attempting a deeper analysis focusing on the members of the community and their listening experience, one would agree that tourists empower the social bonds and form their own sound, which is embedded in the existing soundscape, and which is noticed by the inhabitants. As it was supported,

“...others who visit the place, like tourists, when they come to the area, they know that they are allowed to sometimes knock on the door [of the nearby houses], take pictures in the houses, or the windows and so on”.

“και άλλοι που έρχονται, όπως οι τουρίστες, όταν έρχονται στην περιοχή ξέρουν ότι μπορούν να... καμιά φορά να χτυπήσουν την πόρτα, να βγάλουν φωτογραφίες μέσα στα σπίτια ή στα παράθυρα και τα λοιπά” (02,EGm).

The same person would reveal the importance of the sounds of the visitors in his own acoustic community by adding:

“The sound of the tourists... this is something. You know when the summer approaches”.

“Επίσης, ο ήχος των τουριστών, αυτό είναι κάτι... το ξέρεις όταν έρχεται το καλοκαίρι”.

Accordingly, (07,GCm), who lives in the southern part of the city centre commented on the presence and movement of the visitors:

“Every day they pass by here. They begin from the parking of “Ohi”<sup>17</sup> ... and they walk down here, and pass by there to the Turkish area. Now, they will go to Ledra street, pass by there, at they will leave from there, where the bus station is”.

Apparently, an everyday presence of groups of people speaking various languages cannot leave the acoustic environment of the community of the area unaffected. (05,TCm), who works in the tourist industry in the northern part of the city also talks about this movement of tourists through the borders and the presence of the languages in the area, since the border opened:

“In this area, since few years, more than, I think five years, when doors<sup>18</sup> were open, south and north, we could hear some more Greek language, English, German, French... Many European people started coming here, from the borders, because before that, when they used to come to south Cyprus, they were living over there ... they weren’t able to pass around, from south to north. Now since the doors are open, thank God, the people are going and coming very easily. As you are coming over here, you have a European passport, you can go and come very easily, normally. You can stay as much as you want here, as much as you want over there. So, we are hearing a very nice sound [ses], because we have lots of different people and tourists. That’s good for us and for the Greeks” (05,TCm).

The aural presence of the visitors was also declared by (15,TCf), who feels enthusiastic about the presence of the variety of the languages in the area. (18,TCf) stresses the human voices of the tourists and passers as an important part of the soundscape there, as she mentions them in the first place. Also, a social bonding is implied through communication with the visitors via language when possible, like in (19,Tm)’s case:

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<sup>17</sup> Referring to a specific round about, located at the beginning of the walled city, known as the round about of “Ohi”.

<sup>18</sup> The interview refers to April 2003 (23/04/2003) when the first crossing points between the north and the south opened. On this date the Turkish Forces – which until then did not allow the movement and circulation of Greek Cypriots and Greek citizens – proceeded to open the crossing points adjacent to the Ledra Palace Hotel and Pergamos village (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004).

“If I would understand his/her language, if I would talk with his/her language, it’d be a nice thing. But because I don’t understand, because I don’t have education, it’s my illiteracy. It would be nice to talk too, for example, sometimes some tourists come and they know Turkish, we speak and it relaxes us”.

Interviewers also refer to the sound of the area and the social bonding through the visitors’ reaction to sound: when, for example there is music in the area, by a performing group in the public space:

“they see and they stop, because usually from here the tourist groups, they pass by to the Han, for visit, and then as soon as they hear something, it is the sound at the end of the day, it is the music, so they make them to stop, sometimes they make some music here, normally they had to be today, but I don’t know what’s happened, the municipality makes some music. Just for the concerts, little concerts, like two people, one violin and another instrument, and then, anytime, we get extra customers as well and people stop and they are having little break. Sometimes, usually middle aged couples they are having a little dance in the square, which is nice, and then, well I think it is the sound of music that... sound, any sound, they attract people to do something. That’s what I think” (20,TCm).

It appears that the presence of music or other cheerful sound could imply the presence of visitors in the area. Visitors’ attraction would be enforced when there is music in the area. Music is also observed by (02,EGm), who reports on the concerts of the Centre of Arts in the southern part of the city. The public address (PA) systems they use resonate in the old city and visitors gather around this music event. Such a situation was also commented by (23,GCf) who reported on the sound of the music when concerts take place in the area.

Discussing on the soundscape of the area and the visitors’ presence, (26,TCm) commented:

“Whether it is the tourists or local people or the shopkeepers, if they are all in unity then we can understand that the area is alive”,

confirming, therefore, a sense of collectiveness and defining the nature of bonding the local acoustic community with the visitors have.

### **conversations/human voice**

Frequent descriptions or representations of conversations between the neighbours often evolved during the interviews, as interviewees-members of the community tried to describe everyday situations. Inhabitants imitated small acts of dialogue taking place in a regular basis, either with the neighbours, the tourists, the street vendors or others.

The analysis would show that the area across the Buffer Zone forms an acoustic zone where constantly small conversations take place, mostly about everyday issues. In terms of social interaction, what happens in the area enriches and feeds the social bonds of the people there. To activity, the weather conditions of Nicosia act advantageously, as they mostly include high temperatures during most of the months in the year, so people in houses and shops spend a lot of time in the open air, in a constant movement in and out of their store, always being able to hear details of the outdoor environmental sound.

### **attitude towards the (sound of the) place**

To form the community's attitude towards the place itself through the experience of sound, it is necessary to analyse people's comments and feelings on the resonating information in the area, and how these affect their social bonds, directly, or in more complex ways. In order to achieve this kind of analysis, the sounds people like and feel nice about are quoted below, followed by sounds treated as detrimental. As stated before in this chapter, the religious soundmarks are not analysed in detail here, as the following one is entirely dedicated to them.

- **attractive sounds**

The sound of children appears attractive to (07,GCm), who understands and feels human presence and life activity when listening to their voices and sounds. (26,TCm) is also fond of the sounds of the people, as, for him, it means life and vividness in the area:

“human voice, this is what gives meaning to the place. there should be humans around so that the place would make sense or have a value”.

The sound of hodja itself appears pleasant to (24,GCf), while (16,TCm) enjoys the melody of the azan in particular. Silence is what (04,GCm) distinguishes positively, while interestingly, the sound of the quarrelling cats in the night and the horns heard by the few cars passing from the spot are sounds that appear inviting to a soldier on the Buffer Zone, in the southern borders of the Buffer Zone (08,GCm). The shouting of the street vendors, the resonances of animals and birds, and also human conversations or music by the philharmonic band in national anniversaries are sounds that appear attractive to (23,GCf). Music, this time by street musicians is something fascinating for (14,Tm), while (15,TCf) declares attracted by the sound of the azan and the bells and the multiple sound of the various languages in the place. Moreover, as (05,TCm) expressed his pleasure towards the sound of the birds, (15,TCf) described it with enthusiasm:

“The birds! In the morning I hear them. It’s like playing the violin. Especially the birds of Cyprus. They are special birds, they sing like playing the violin. And I hear them! I have got a good ear, you know”.

(21,Tf) likes the sound of the radio in the private space in the area, but she mostly likes the playful kids’ sound: “I like children’s voices a lot as well. I like to hear the kids all lively and chirpy”.

- **non-attractive sounds**

When people describe sound, it is fairly easy to understand by the expression on their faces whether they are happy or not about it. Would it be obsolescent to ask about the detrimental sounds, people would have replied without pushing themselves: The sound of the motorbike, especially when loud and transformed in a way to disturb, appeared to be among the most detrimental sounds in the area. (02,EGm) and (24,GCf) not only expressed their complaints about them, but they also narrated memorable stories related to them, recalling the disturbance and its exact characteristics. Youth gathering and the sounds of their shouting was also mentioned as something undesirable (04,GCm). Moreover, and as it will be analysed in the next

chapter, negative attitude was expressed towards the sound of the call to prayer, both for volume-related and political issues by (04,GCm) and (08,GCm). The sound of dogs' barking was found to be unpleasant due to the noise for (23,GCf), while (11,Tm) declared feeling afraid when listening to this sound. In other cases, the sound of migrant children (05,TCm) appears disturbing to a worker, and (14,Tm) declares to hate the noise of the workplaces, something which (21,Tf) agrees on, complaining about the noise caused by the mechanics. (17,TCm) talks against the traffic noise and the presence of cars. (26,TCm) places himself against music and more noisy human sounds that are caused by touristic activity, as these should be restrained in this area and not expand to the whole soundscape. There is also the time context of where the sound is placed, for example (22,Tm) stated that

“some nights when I am sleeping, the next door neighbour's child starts crying [laughs]. I mean, ok, that is also a nice sound [laughs] but it is hard at that time of the night”.

In a similar way of thinking, the sound of the azan in the early hours was found to be annoying by some interviewees.

- **other sounds**

As implied, the definition of attractiveness is quite subjective in this case. Depending on the socio-cultural background of a listener in the area, the sound of the kids or the hodja's call to prayer might appear disturbing or beautiful. The way inhabitants experience such sounds varies, in a way being explored throughout this research. In other words, with a careful reading of the above quotes or opinions, one would observe that some sounds make their appearance to both categories, treated as pleasant by some, while by others they obtain negative characteristics and meanings. Such a case would be the sound of children playing in the outer space: This sound appeared attractive to a grandmother, who was taking care of her neighbour's 5-months-old baby of at the moment of the interview, in a poor neighbourhood of the area. The same sound also appeared attractive to a tourist agent, who loved to talk and smile about her sound environment, while a worker would prefer that the 'noise' of the children playing did not exist, especially when these kids were migrants.

Another issue that appeared, and was worth analysing was the attitude of the soldier towards the horns: even if the horn by itself is considered noisy and disturbing, for the

young soldier who spends lonely, compulsory and -consequently not very pleasant time in the area, the presence of human activity, even declared by the horn blow appears pleasant to him. Of course, reflecting on that he says:

“I believe us Cypriots are villagers<sup>19</sup> in general, I cannot explain this, not the kind of the villagers who come from the village. Villagers, in a sense that we like the fuss, we like noise.”

“Πιστεύω οι Κυπριαίτοι είμαστε γενικά πελλοχώρκατοι, δεν μπορώ να το εξηγήσω, ότι χώρκατοι που είμαστε από το χωρκό. Χώρκατοι, αρέσκει μας η φασαρία, αρέσκει μας ο θόρυβος. [...]. Γι’ αυτό ακούς συνέχεια τις κόρνες γι’ αυτό. Γιατί στους παραπάνω αρέσουν” (08,GCM).

As the research suggests that the community is described and characterized in relation with the correlation to its place, and tries not to focus on individual characteristics and attitudes towards sound events that are not soundmarks, this chapter will not expand further the analysis of these cases, but will deeply explore certain sound related aspects concerning everyday activity in the area, which would help to better portray/illustrate the community and its attitude towards its sound.

### 5.3.3 Everyday Activity

**(repetition | Urban Activity | Village-related actions | Border-related activity)**

On the way to properly describe the community, it is considered important to analyse the aspects of ordinary actions taking place there. Besides, as it has been supported, ‘... *“daily activities” could take place over larger and larger social spaces, stretching the bounds of community, possibly to breaking point*’ (Day, 2006, p. 13). Nevertheless, before commenting on what could describe a breaking point in the case of study, which is analysed in the conclusions relevant section, it is considered important to expand the first part of the quote. A space of social characteristics, which is also what a community defines, is also the place where life goes on for the inhabitants, both workers and residents. Their actions describe the bounds of the community in various ways: Everyday activities of the inhabitants of the city centre

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<sup>19</sup> The word “villager” in the Cypriot dialect is not only used in order to describe the origin of a person i.e. an individual residing in or coming from a village. It is often used in a pejorative sense, aiming to attribute the characteristic of “loudness” referring to the “loud” people coming from a village.

involve actions which fit an ordinary, urban way of life (going to work or driving) with elements which would mostly be observed in village life (shopping from local stores, taking traditional coffees in local cafés, or chatting with the neighbours). Following the chapter which explored the social bonds with reference to sound, the next part of the analysis, in order to adequately describe the everyday activity of the area, has been organised in urban activity, village-related actions and border-related activity.

For example, an interviewee, would do the everyday task of anyone on the same role, no matter the place (urban or not):

“Three boys. I was off from work, to take them to the private school... Or when they were younger to pick them up from the kindergarten, to cook, to clean, to do the housework, after work”.

“Τρία αγόρια, σχόλανα, ή να τους πάρω ιδιαίτερα, εντάξει ή που ήταν πιο μικροί να τους πάρω από το νηπιαγωγείο, να μαγειρέψω, να καθαρίσω, δουλειές οικοκυράς, μετά τη δουλειά” (23,GCF).

Another inhabitant would describe her everyday activities as follows:

“I come home, cook, between 4 and 5 I go to the gym and then I come back home where I will stay to do the housework, cook food and so on, yes. On weekdays, I am at home”.

“Θα έρθω σπίτι, θα κάνω φαγητό να φάμε, 4 με 5 θα φύγω για γυμναστική και μετά θα έρθω πάλι στο σπίτι που θα μείνω να κάνω τις δουλειές τους σπιτιού, φαγητά και τα λοιπά, ναι, καθημερινές είμαι σπίτι” (24,GCF).

Such typical actions would picture important parts and aspects of the everyday life of an inhabitant living there. On the other hand, someone who works would come to the area, stay at the store/shop/lab where he/she works and then leave the place for home. Regarding the character of the place, however, there are some things which were reported in the interviews and can be categorised and studied depending on the amount of urban characteristics they redeem. At this point, it is considered important to comment on the fact that the interviewees (sub)consciously included elements suggesting urban or rural activity many times in the conversations. However, it was

judged necessary for the purpose of the research only to keep the parts where sound was involved, even if this would partially happen. In the first case, some statements have been obtained, clearly declaring and defining the urban element in the rhythms of everyday life (Jiang, Ferreira, & González, 2012).

### **Urban activity**

If a ‘city’ character would be given to the area, it would certainly describe some aspects of it, especially regarding the place: *‘the moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place-an experience that is, to be sure, broken up into countless tiny deportations (displacements and walks), compensated for by the relationships and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be. Ultimately, the place but is only a name, the City’* (de Certeau, 1988, p. 103). So, a “fabric-constructing” city way of life would imply many activities, in which a long work activity happening away from the residence would be included. Such cases were observed in the participants who were chosen:

“As usual: I wake up at seven, sometimes at six thirty, you know you have something to... till I get ready and everything, and then I leave, I come back at four” (02,EGm)

“τα νορμάλ, ξυπνώ στις επτά, καμιά φορά στις εξέμιση, ξέρεις έχεις κάτι να... μέχρι να ετοιμαστώ και τα λοιπά, και μετά φεύγω, ε γυρνάω κατά τις τέσσερις” (02,EGm)

Of course, a community living in a contemporary city would be described by the lo-fi sounds which would declare traffic, both cars and humans. This characteristic was both observed and testified. For example, a noisy/busy city soundscape would be described by the next quote:

“The place has been crowded with cafes, it is full of little restaurants, especially the nights, ok, there is a lot of movement, a lot of people”.

“εγέμωσεν ο τόπος καφετέριες, εγέμισε μικρά εστιατόρια, ιδίως τα βράδια, εντάξει, έχει πάρα πολύ κίνηση, πάρα πολύ κόσμο” (10,GCm).

Also, issues related to car traffic were raised many times referring to parking places. The parking issue appears to be important for the inhabitants, and the sound of the cars was frequently noticeable, or if not, it was audible from a distance as an ambient lo-fi sound.

Another urban element, characteristic of the Mediterranean soundscapes as it is widely known, is the horn of the cars. The horn, very often used, consists of an important sound element of the area. The sound of the horn, especially in quiet areas, though used often, would declare the presence of cars, and also the willing of their drivers to communicate with the out-of-their-vehicle world. It appears strange, that even if the traffic is little, the presence of the horn is frequent, and this combination makes the sound stand out even in a bigger degree. The car horn is indeed an element of noise, designed to produce this sound as a means of communication as Lessing would agree (Donald, 2007, p. 24). Both in the observation and the interviews it was met as a crucial sound in the city centre. Apparently, it is used rather often. Moreover, in this concept, the residents of Cyprus were also given the ‘nickname’ of a “villager” by (08,GCm)’s statement on the positive attitude towards the sound of the horn, referring to the bad-manners, concerning the specific city sound, as seen before.

### **Village-related actions**

Actions suggesting a village way of everyday life were also observed and spoken.

“I go to the local shop, I get bread, milk, eggs and so on, do a little shopping, joking around, having a chat, and the things you know, like ‘how is it going?’ and so on, ‘how is everything? and so forth...’ (22,Tm).

“Young kids, they bring kids here, they play, as there is a lot of space, where can they go elsewhere? This is a good place here. It is calme [‘Isihia’], the kids are safe, as they are going to run and play here, like this.”

“Μικρά μωρά, φέρνουν μωρά δαμε, και παίζουν, πλάτσα πολύ, πού να πάσιν κάπου αλλού, και είναι καλός τόπος δαμέ. Ησυχία, ασφαλισμένα τα μωρά να βουρήσουν να παίζουν δαμέ, έτσι” (04,GCm).

“...too many children. So they are running around and they play at the marbles, something like this, and then I am shouting at them ‘hey go away from here, I have visitors...’ (25,GCm)

For some inhabitants, the everyday presence of the cars is small and discreet, as 09,GC would argue after arguing trust and solidarity with the soldiers who are situated next to his shop:

“2,3 years here the cars here have learned and they come and park, only, go and do their job, come back, take the car and leave.”

“2,3 χρόνια δαμέ τα αυτοκίνητα δαμέ μάθανε κι έρχονται και παρκάρουνε, μόνο, να πάνε να κάνουν τη δουλειά τους κάτω, να έρθουν να το πάρουν και να φύγουνε” (09,GCm).

An inhabitant declares a silent and peaceful moment sitting at her balcony and listening to the azan:

“because during the night that I sit down and relax, it is the only time that I can hear the prayer.”

“γιατί το βράδυ που κάθομαι και χαλαρώνω είναι η μόνη ώρα που ακούω την προσευχή” (24,GCf).

The area, overall, is by many characterized as beautiful and regarded having a nice atmosphere.

“the area is beautiful, the neighbours, houses are more traditional, [the place] has a character. And it’s a calm area”.

“όμορφη η περιοχή, οι γείτονες, είναι πιο παραδοσιακά τα σπίτια, έχει χαρακτήρα. Και είναι ήσυχη περιοχή” (24,GCf).

### **Border-related activity**

During the conduction of the research in the field of study, a kind of activity describing an important aspect of the identity of the acoustic community was traced. Apparently, due to the special character of the area, it happened that many times, and

without being asked, the inhabitants, when talking about their everyday life, mentioned activities which were somehow related to the borders. Either commenting on tourists' activity, their own movements/thoughts or things that they do during the day, actions happening or thoughts created related to the border, and in a next level to the political conflict, appear to play an important role in the way things flow every day.

For example, in some cases the border can be regarded as an obstacle, as (01,GCm) stated:

“90% of us are used to it. Me, I am not used to it, I am bothered by the fact that I have a limit of where I can go. That is, from here, to the next street, I cannot go. You know, that's what bothers me. If I go for a walk, I know I will go straight, and then left. Because straight and then right, the street stops. Do you understand? This bothers me”.

“90% του κόσμου τον έχουμε συνηθίσει, δεν έχω συνηθίσει, με ενοχλεί το γεγονός ότι έχω όριο πού πάω. Δηλαδή από εδώ, στον επόμενο δρόμο δεν μπορώ να πάω. Κατάλαβες, αυτό με ενοχλεί. Άμα κάνω τον περίπατό μου, ξέρω ότι θα πάω ευθεία του δρόμου, αριστερά. Γιατί ευθεία του δρόμου, δεξιά, σταματάει ο δρόμος. Κατάλαβες; Αυτό με ενοχλεί”.

In another case the border was treated as a point of political reference and the presence of the 'other' through actions, also relevant to sound, such as the one of throwing stones:

“Nicosia, where our grandfathers had lived, is now divided and there was a need to make this thing here. There is traffic, there are houses, there are residents who live here. In the past they had problems with the Turks too, they had told us... They were throwing stones in the houses, those over there that are in the Dead [Zone]...” (08,GCm).

“η Λευκωσία που έζησαν και οι παππούδες μας κι έτσι, τώρα τη μοίρασαν και χρειάστηκε να γίνει τούτο το πράμα δαμέ, έχει κίνηση, έχει σπίτια, έχει κόσμο που μηνίσκει. Παλιά είχασι και προβλήματα με τους Τούρκους είπαν μας... σύρναν τους πέτρες μες στα σπίτια, τούτα δαμέ που βγαίνουν μες στη Νεκρά...” (08,GCm).

and (09,GCm) confirms:

“there have been moments, when... during the night, in the past, when the Turks were here, closely, they were throwing stones every night. Every night”.  
“έχει στιγμές που... τη νύχτα, μιλάμε παλιά, που ήταν δαμέ οι Τούρκοι κοντά, σχεδόν κάθε νύχτα πετούσαν πέτρες. Κάθε νύχτα” (09,GCm).

Quite ironically, (17,TCm) who works at the other side of the wall comments on the same story, but in a more recent timeframe. According to his sayings, Greek soldiers (or a Greek soldier) had been throwing stones over the wall for a while:

“...when we first got here, there were stones. But we complained and there was an officer that we knew, we told him and he informed the U.N. things”.

(09,GCm) also showed his frustration about the broken glass, that was broken by a stone thrown, having made a big noise. In the same, conflict-related spirit, (08,GCm) also complains about listening to the hodja everyday, especially during the first morning hours, as he correlates his presence and sound with the occupation of the island.

To this category, it appears proper to add the activity of policemen and tourists, who spend time there everyday and form a major part of the everyday life in the area: (02,EGm) reports on the sound of the tourists, such as 05,TC or 09,GC do, indicating the presence of a variety of resonating languages in the area and also sounds of their everyday activity. (17,TCm) confirms their presence, and only (18,TCf), who works in the tourism industry states dissatisfied by the fact that there are now less than five years ago. (20,TCm) clearly embeds them in everyday life activity by stating:

“It seems like busy, looks like busy, actually, but if you have business, not really, because it’s just much more tourism, around here tourists are coming by organization groups”.

although he is also dissatisfied by their short time presence in the area. (26,TCm) also appears to consider the visitors as an important part of the everyday life in the area.

“Well, sometimes things come here from the Greek side, well they are also from Greece, they have songs. Some nights I sit here and listen to them... I go over there (closer to the border). Sometimes I get bored and I take a friend and we go up there and they have entertainment and they have Greece songs. Well, my husband worked with the Greeks in the ships that he was working in” (21,Tf).

From the description of the soundwalk one can extract the information that along the borderline which is of varying thickness in this length, there is a silent area, which, in aural terms, is not related to the rest of the city centre, as it is empty and deserted, and only UN forces who may enter the area. Except for the environmental ambient sound, the religious soundmarks and other, few loud sounds which can cross the borders, the lack of life is evident in this area. In the crossing point, however, what declares the everyday activity is the aforementioned sound of the tourists/visitors, along with the sound of the police. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot police, along with Custom Control officers declare their aural presence on a 24-hour basis. The sounds of their voices are characteristic of the area, and in some cases it was observed that they were loud enough to call someone from a big distance to come back as he/she forgot to check in or out, or recheck the passport, or for any other authority-related reason.

What stands out a lot during the day is the sound of the stamp of the visa. If an acoustic community would need soundmarks to be defined, a micro-acoustic community would be formed around this loud –in resonance and meaning- sound, the limits of which would go further than where this resonated.

#### **5.3.4 Memories & History**

There were certain points, during the interviews, that talks about the sound of the place generated discussions on memories related to sound. (05,TCm) remembers, referring to the crows:

“As you hear, these things (crows). I read a book about Nicosia, about 800 years ago, during the Lucenian period, the crucaders, the French, in Cyprus,

these birds were living in Nicosia, millions of them, and the people didn't shoot them at the time, because they believed they were very magic... sacred. And they didn't touch them. But the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots are shooting these birds, because they are giving us trouble to the fruits and vegetables. I remember, when I was living in Pafos, we used to have a land where we were making watermelon, tomatoes and things, they were giving too much problem for these fruits... the island is very small. From here to Paphos you go in three hours, from here to Karpas, two and a half hours, so all together six hours you can turn around... it's very small island, so these birds are going around everywhere" (05,TCm).

The specific interviewee stresses how the sound of the birds works as a transgressive sound for him, as regardless of his migration, it followed him, and continues reminding him not only his hometown, but also the history of the place. Referring to the sounds of the past and the memories, (15,TCf) notes:

"...and I was used with the chickens, with the cats and the dogs, and the donkeys. They were gypsies. Many many gypsies. At the gate, Famagusta Gate. There was a very big environment there, they were set there, with their houses and everything. the tents and everything. So we used to... what do you call it we used to take the dogs and the donkeys of the gypsies and bring them home. They were coming and complaining to our family [laughs]. We were used to... Up to now I couldn't hear donkeys and sheeps and the goats. Yes, they are lost".

In this case (18,TCf)'s statement of being satisfied as she feels protecting history is important, as sounds of the place and memories related to it triggered this declaration. The memories described here, or the stories related to the past people recall through sound appear to create a sense of belonging. As people talk about experiences and attitudes which connect them to the place, the process of the interviewing showed that they were attached to their areas.

### 5.3.5 Sense of Belonging

As it was shown in the theoretical background, the sense of belonging is suggestively open to connections with sound – in other words, the presence of certain sounds might create the feeling of a social collectiveness and develop attributes of place attachment. Representation of the acoustic community through a collective soundmark, or a group of soundmarks, something that creates the sense of belonging, would characteristically concern sounds declared by the inhabitants or the religious soundmarks, which are analysed in the next chapter. However, it is important to mention the property of sound to be descriptive, and the validity of this property. For example, (02,EGm) could not distinguish sounds, as he intensively described feeling that he belongs in the area through the whole soundscape. For him, distinguishing certain sounds connected to the place would be ‘unfair’ to others. Also, (15,TCf) seemed always eager to connect sound memories, referring to personal stories when discussing her experience towards the sound of the place. A sense of belonging also appeared in the case of (09,GCm), who stated while he was claiming on the sound of the area:

“That everybody loves me. I could leave from here now, to take the bicycle, let everything open, I don’t have problem, I don’t have any problem at all, you know what I mean?”

“Ότι όλοι αγαπούν με. Να φύγω από δαμέ τώρα, να πιάσω το ποδήλατο, να τ’ αφήσω όλα ανοιχτά, δεν έχω πρόβλημα, δεν έχω κανένα πρόβλημα. Κατάλαβες;” (09,GCm).

### 5.3.6 More than a sound in the community

An acoustic community is defined by its soundmarks, and vice versa. At this research, an expansion of the role of soundmarks has been intended, as it was found out that not only the religious soundmarks are treated as important sounds: members of the community which is studied, when talking about the subjects under question reveal a healthy relationship with their place, even if sometimes they complain about it. (01,GCm)’s quote is representative:

“I feel nice, for my neighbourhood, for example. It is as if I am talking about my girlfriend, with whom I’m in love. I enjoy talking, you know? That’s how I feel. I feel nice!”

“ωραία νιώθω για τη γειτονιά μου για παράδειγμα. Είναι σαν να μιλώ για τη γκόμενά μου που είμαι ερωτευμένος. Απολαμβάνω να μιλώ, κατάλαβες; Έτσι νιώθω. Νιώθω ωραία!”

The above description of the community through the analysis of the interviews at this stage has presented the sounds and soundmarks of the borderline as a crucial part of everyday life of the inhabitants in the city centre of Nicosia. Accordingly, place attachment seems to be related in great extent with the audible to the community sounds, as their bonds and everyday experience are correlated to it. Having described all these aspects, it is considered important to analyse people’s attitude towards the religious soundmarks, regarding certain aspects.

#### **5.4 The Religious Soundmarks**

From the presentation of the analysis so far, focusing on the environment and the meanings created by sound, it appears important to elaborate the community-related terminology regarding it. For this to happen, not only a detailed description of the religious soundmarks needs to be specified, but also the analysis of the attitude of the inhabitants towards them appears to be an issue of major importance to explore.

Recalling the first chapter, and as it has been discussed, community has been initially defined as *‘a static, bounded, cultural space of being where personal meanings are produced, cohesive cultural values are articulated, and traditional ways of life are enunciated and lived’* (Smith P. , 2002, p. 109). Such a static property of the community, however may become more dynamic and subject to change, as sounds are the ones defining the place within it. Besides, interactions among its members do not seem to appear static and locally space-defined, as the case shows, since sounds, especially the religious soundmarks travel across the borders, defining a new, less bounded space. Many of the proposed, in the definition, characteristics though, as it is being shown throughout this research, are encountered in the case study: the city centre of Nicosia is a static and bounded geographical space, full of cultural variations and differentiations, where people from various ethnic communities, social structures

and roles live and/or work, leaving their mark on the area through their cultural actions. Moreover, it is a place full of memories, and such memories, regarding the current inhabitants, appear in the interviews to have been mostly produced during its recent history of war and ethnic conflict; it was 40 years ago that its people suffered the worst consequences of the war and its aftermath. For someone who visits the area for the first time, a feeling of sadness and sorrow is prominent, especially when s/he stands in front of the barb wired borderlines and frontiers. Among the few kinds of sounds that can instantly cross these frontiers are the aforementioned call to prayer and the church bells. In the process of approaching the forming of place attachment and its role within the acoustic community, it is thus considered crucial to study the religious soundmarks in detail.

So far, it has been shown that these religious soundmarks, both the sound of the church bells and the hodja's calls to prayer resonate all over the city centre of Nicosia and travel along the borderline, being audible to all the ethnic communities spending time in the area. Not only was this observed during the soundwalk through a systematic observation, but it was also supported likewise by the vast majority. To be more precise, in the case of the specific interviewees, the call to prayer is noticed by everyone, and the few inhabitants who do not notice or hear church bells, absolutely declare awareness of their existence. At this point, the research deepens the analysis as follows: in order to sufficiently explore all the aspects of the overarching research question, the inclusion of details of the inhabitants' everyday interactions regarding these particular sounds, needs to be achieved. While the initial thought had been to examine them by categorizing the ethnic communities and studying their attitude towards each soundmark, as it was partially indicated before, this approach was characterized by the following issues:

- the ethnic communities themselves are not clearly separated – both in terms of ethnicity and everyday activity - except for the division facilitated by the borderline: This means that although the Buffer Zone divides the area and the ethnic communities in two strictly defined parts, the inhabitants of the northern part of the city are not only Turkish Cypriots or Turkish, but also migrants. Accordingly, in the southern part of the city, the presence of non-Cypriots (Greeks or migrants from other nationalities) is also evident.
- inhabitants, at the first place, approach the soundmarks mostly commenting on the quality and the loudness of the sound rather than its meaning. What was

observed during the discussions showed that most people would initially comment on acoustic characteristics of the religious soundmarks rather than emotional aspects and significations.

- as it is already being shown, the inhabitants appear to value their attitude towards the religious soundmarks mostly according to their attachment to place, rather than to their nationality.

For these reasons, which are more extensively discussed in this chapter, the main division in categories was decided to primarily examine the attitude towards the specific sounds by the whole community, as well as to regulate certain comments related to ethnic differences, so that the inhabitants' approach to sound through their place is more adequately described.

Having overviewed and analysed what has been written for the two 'main' soundmarks in the previous chapters, it is judged important to see whether this information is confirmed in this case in a first level, and in a second level to find out any other characteristics which evolve from the interviews. In the following lines, the analysis regarding the inhabitants' attitude for these two religious soundmarks is presented focusing on the sound of the bell in the first part and the sound of the azan in the second. In the last part, similarities and differences are cited, facilitating and justifying the approaching of the religious soundmarks as a united concept. Before proceeding to the chapter where the concept itself of such soundmarks is extensively discussed, the importance of such an approach vis a vis the members of the community is analysed.

Subcategories of each soundmark have been created in an attempt to assist the analysis, so that the connection to place appears gradually. The first category which evolved after the coding of the interviews concerned the connection of the soundmark to activities of praying, celebrations and rituals, as well as the quantity of the overall respect paid to the soundmark due to these connections. The initial categorization demanded that all of these meanings would be analysed separately. However, after extensive reading of the data obtained and taking into consideration the way people interweave these in their discourse, a category concerning religious activity and respect regarding "Religious Movement", was considered to be the most convenient for the purpose of the specific research. Hence, all of these instances would form a category which would refer to the importance of each soundmark related to place. Musicality, noticeability and disturbance are categories used to better describe each

soundmark, while emotion and connection to place are used to refer to the core of the research questions.

#### **5.4.1 Approaching the sound of the Bell**

##### **Religious Movement (pray / celebration / rituals / respect)**

As it has been extensively discussed, the church bell declares by itself a connection to the Christian religion, while its sound connotes religious activity, whether this concerns a celebration or a ritual. The great number of the churches spread in the area also forms a more religious character of the place, which is expressed through the various tones of the bells, depending on the case they sound for. This was adequately described by (23,GCF):

“So, the bells... Here we have the church of Aghios Ioannis, it is Aghios Antonios, Faneromeni, churches are all around. And they resonate. When it is... (rustling of leaves heard) there you go, you can listen now to the rustling and they are heard. So... the most pleasant sound, if you ask me... Because I hear the bell with a... let's say it is the evensong, or, tomorrow, it can be any celebration... it keeps us busy. Or there is a wedding. It depends on the tone of the bell. Or it can be a funer...(cuts-means funeral). It depends on the sound. It's a pleasant sound... I like it. I like it because, to begin with, many times it reminds me of the celebrations. And I ask myself, or, can I say, if it is something, it is a pleasant sound, let's say for me it's a pleasant sound. Or during the Easter, the Holy Week, you listen to bells from everywhere, because, as I say, it is around. You live it, alright, it is our religion, you experience it better” (23,GCF)

“Λοιπόν, καμπάνες, έχουμε εδώ εκκλησία του Αγίου Ιωάννη, είναι ο Άγιος Αντώνιος, η Φανερωμένη, είναι γύρω γύρω είναι εκκλησίες. Και ακούγονται. Όταν είναι... (ακούγεται θρόισμα φύλλων) να, ακούς τώρα το θρόισμα, και ακούγονται. Το λοιπόν. Ο πιο ευχάριστος ήχος αν με ρωτάς εμένα... Διότι ακούω την καμπάνα μ' έναν... ας πούμε είναι ο εσπερινός, τι γιορτή είναι αύριο, ξεχνιόμαστε καλο. Ή έχει γάμο. Ανάλογα με τον τόνο της καμπάνας. Ή μπορεί να ειν' κηδ... (διακόπτει-εννοεί κηδεία). Ανάλογα με τον ήχο. Είναι ευχάριστος ήχος ... αρέσει μου. Μου αρέσει γιατί κατ' αρχήν μου θυμίζει πολλές φορές τις γιορτές. Εεεμ, και διερωτούμαι, ή μπορώ να πω, αν είναι

κάτι, είναι ευχάριστος ήχος, ας πούμε για μένα εντάξει είναι ευχάριστος ήχος. Ή μέσα στο Πάσχα, τη Μεγάλη Εβδομάδα, ακούς καμπάνες από παντού, διότι λέω, είναι γύρω. Ζεις, εντάξει, είναι η θρησκεία μας, το ζεις πιο έντονα, νομίζω, πιο καλά” (23,GCf).

It appears that for this interviewee the sound of the bell itself directs the discussion to celebrations or rituals taking place. In a next level, it triggers the expression of feelings towards it, and consequently its meaning, part of the place. In this case, as in other cases, bits which associate with connections with place and belonging are traced, analysed in the respective chapter. At this stage, the evolving importance of the soundmark creates a discussion: Full of meaning and value might have it appeared, the sound has also been regarded as unimportant by both the residents of the northern and southern part of Nicosia, although the last revealed a more sentimental attitude in favour of it. They did so by stating that they like the sound of the church bells, although they do not seem to feel very emotionally attached to this sound compared to others.

In the same context of correlations with activities and celebrations, Turkish Cypriot (15,TCf) associates the sound of the church bell with celebrations and rituals:

“Besides, Hodja’s eden and the church’s bells. I enjoy it. Because I like New Year, Christmas, and as I said Paschalias<sup>20</sup>, I am fond of” (15,TCf).

(23,GCf) also refers the connection to the celebrations in her testimony:

“...it reminds me many times of the celebrations ... during the Easter, the Holy Week, you listen to bells from everywhere, because, as I say, it is around. You live it, alright, it is our religion, you live it more intensively I think, better”.

“μου θυμίζει πολλές φορές τις γιορτές... μέσα στο Πάσχα, τη Μεγάλη Εβδομάδα, ακούς καμπάνες από παντού, διότι λέω, είναι γύρω. Ζεις, εντάξει, είναι η θρησκεία μας, το ζεις πιο έντονα, νομίζω, πιο καλά” (23,GCf).

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<sup>20</sup> Paschalias: ‘Pascha’ is the name of Easter in greek.

Such a parallel reference of important holidays and connection to the sound would again lean the focus towards the appreciation of these soundmarks on behalf of the whole community which lives in the area. Adding value to this argument, another Turkish Cypriot declares respect about it, mentioning that the resonance appears in the place

“...the way it should be. Religion is a great thing for people, and should be respected” (05,TCm).

Turkish Cypriot (14,Tm) also mentions respect about this sound. The term ‘respect’ appeared to play an important role and shows not only tolerance, but also acceptance of one ethnic community to the other’s religious beliefs, everyday habits, and consequently, the acoustic image of the place:

“These types of people, theses type of things, the religion things, I think it hurts people” (05,TCm).

The way of taking position could create problems regarding the conflict, an issue which is extensively analysed in a following chapter. At this current stage, considering respect for the soundmark of the bell, especially from a community whose religion would not be Christianity but one which is considered as ‘contrary’ (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004), would indeed demarcate respect for the place itself. This respect appears to be established as it is applied to the rituals and celebrations the specific sound is connected to. During the interviews, it was realised that the matter of respect for the other’s sound (and consequently ‘being’) was so prominent, that would lead the discussion to peace-oriented matters, or solidarity issues. Respect, as a religious virtue, appears to be applied in the case of the community of the city centre, even by people who declared not believing in God. In parallel, comments about the musicality, noticability and other details regarding it were observed.

### **Musicality**

The creation of a subcategory addressing the musical aspect of the bell sound is deemed necessary, as it was observed that tonality differs from one church bell to another and from one occasion to another. A part of the community appears to trace

musical features in the sound of the bell. In a different context, but fully applying to this case, an interviewee stated:

“The most efficient way of creating communication through sound is music. (14,Tm)”

Inhabitants of the area, especially in the northern part of the city trace tonal characteristics to the sound of the church bell which resonates all over the place. The sound of the bell, as it was explained in the previous parts of the study, includes musical characteristics, from stable tonal sounds to melodies including wide octave ranges. Additionally, these characteristics appear relaxing to the inhabitants, as they describe them with pleasure and frequently with a smile on their face, stating satisfaction about their content, and consequently their personal value for the place. This becomes particularly evident when they try to imitate them with their voice or with gestures. One of these cases is (15,TCf), who notices the fact that “sometimes it makes music” and thus describes this sound with a prominent sense of nostalgia and romance:

“And the bells, as I say, on Sundays they make music ‘ninianiano’, [trying to imitate the sound of the bells] as if, - I don’t know, they are happy? or some kind of... people are in the church... I don’t know about that kind of sounds. But it’s just like a song. ‘Ding dang dang dong’... Because I am a singer and my ear is very very good [laughs]” (15,TCf).

(20,TCm), a resident who appears ambitious for the future of the neighbourhood, when commenting on the sound of the church bell, refers to the variety of melodies these make and resonate over the place. In this context he characterizes the church bell as a sound which is

“poetic and melodic as well. That’s what I feel...Normally, I think it’s not the same melody. Sometimes it’s different, but generally, I like the melody” (20,TCm). Again, here, for the whole community living in the area, musicality acquires a wholeness which is proven in the talks with the inhabitants.

### **(Non) disturbance**

During the interviews, at the points when the discussion was led to the soundmarks under study, it was often observed that people would refer to disturbance or problem, no matter if no such issue was even implied by the interviewer. However, no remarkable disturbance in the community living in the northern or in the southern part has been observed because of the sound of the church bells. Some interviewees, such as (20,TCm) denied disturbance, while (19,Tm) would try to trace sound as something uncomfortable, commenting:

"It doesn't bother me at all, it doesn't have any disturbance" (19,Tm).

On this topic, (14,Tm), who declares to be able to hear the sound of the bell about four times per day, characterized the particular sound as 'sensible', stating that not only is he not disturbed by it, but instead, he wants to explore its meanings:

"I, never get disturbed by the sound of the church. And furthermore, I am curious to find out about it as well" (14,Tm).

On this topic (05,TCm) commented:

"...it doesn't give you a problem. Even the bell or the minaret thing... We don't mind these religious things" (05,TCm).

(10,GCm)'s house is located at a very short distance of the church bell of the Square of Phaneromeni, and is also at the same altitude with the bell itself. The sound waves of the main big bell of the church depart from the heavy metallic surfaces of the clash and directly meet the window of his bedroom in an extremely, as he says, loud volume. However, after self-reflecting, he considers disturbance from the bell as non-existing, as he grew up with this 'clash':

"Should I say it doesn't bother me? It does! But we got used to it. We are used to it. The room I sleep in is exactly 15 metres away from the Phaneromeni Church, whose clash is very loud; but it doesn't bother me because I grew up

with its clash, I «got raised» as we say - [*expression used in the Cypriot dialect*]. It doesn't bother me”.

“Να πω ότι δε με ενοχλεί; Με ενοχλεί! Αλλά συνηθίσαμε. Συνηθίσαμε. Το δωμάτιο που πέφτω είναι αν το πάρουμε ευθεία 15 μέτρα από την εκκλησία της Φανερωμένης, της οποίας ο κρότος είναι πολύ δυνατός, αλλά δε με ενοχλεί, διότι μεγάλωσα με τον κρότο αυτό. Αναγιώθηκα, που λέμε. Δε με ενοχλεί” (10,GCm).

An interviewee, referring to a disturbance that is negligible describes the sound of the bells likewise:

“Their sound is light however, it's not 'boom, boom', to make you feel...”

“Ε ναι, ελαφριές όμως, δεν είναι “μπαμ, μπαμ”, έτσι να σε...” (04,GCm).

Even if they can be loud, especially when sitting at his place, he describes them as something desirable and ‘sweet’ for the ear. The same attitude, far from being disturbed and closer to enjoyment is expressed by another interviewee:

“I like listening to the bell of the church, ringing” (30,GCm).

A similar attitude was expressed by another inhabitant, who declared not being disturbed by them,

“...because there are community beliefs. And regardless of whichever community it is, every community respects it, so I am not disturbed by them” (14,Tm).

### **Noticeability**

A remarkable aspect of the subject is whether all residents noticed the presence of the bells and their frequent resonance all over the place. Beginning from the northern part of the city, where the sound of the church bells is audible, it should be clarified that the vast majority of the inhabitants been asked in the area of interest declares noticing it. Either this would be every hour, every Sunday, ceremony, or every now and then, listeners agree that the church clearly declares its presence in an everyday basis. The

sound of its bell appears familiar to all of them, as it does to the inhabitants of the southern part of the city. Indicatively, it has been quoted, regarding the regular bells' resonance in the north, that:

“The bells reach here and are audible every hour” (26,TCm).

Accordingly, by himself an interviewee reports noticing the sound of the bells:

“...but very near from south, just hundred yards away from here, sometimes we hear the bells over here” (05,TCm).

There were cases like (24,GCf), who declares that she doesn't hear any bells, except when she goes to ceremonies. Also, (13,Tm) does not notice any bell sound and (22,Tm) declares to hear it rarely. In the same attitude, (01,GCm), who stays in a quiet house in the southern part says:

“The bell tolls five times per year? ten times per year? It is not something that happens every day. During the day, today, you will not listen to the bell. Not at all.”

“Η καμπάνα ακούγεται 5 φορές το χρόνο; 10 φορές το χρόνο; Δεν είναι κάτι καθημερινό. Μεσ στην ημέρα σήμερα, δε θα ακούσεις την καμπάνα. Καθόλου” (01,GCm).

Also, (08,GCm) declares to rarely notice the sound of the bells, while (09,GCm) supports that the bells resonate every day, at 12:00. There were also the cases which stated that they hear the bells every hour, like (26,TCm) or less times in a day, as an interviewee noted:

“I hear the Armenian church bell four times a day here” (14,Tm).

On the contrary, few interviewees stated that they did not notice this sound. (30,GCm), declared to rarely hear them, exactly as (28,GCm) did, who paradoxically works right next to the church:

“I don’t listen to them... or maybe I can’t listen to them. But no, for us they are not audible... as we are here all the time, well, I think they don’t ring that often, and as it is a more familiar sound, maybe it is not that often present in our ears” (28,GCm).

“Δεν (τις) ακούω ... Ή μπορεί να μην τις ακούμε αλλά, δεν ακούγονται, εννοώ για μας δεν ακούγονται... Νομίζω ότι δεν βαρούν τόσο συχνά, και όταν βαρούν, επειδή ίσως είναι τέλεια πιο οικεία, πιο οικείος ήχος, να μη χτυπά τόσο έντονα στ’ αυτιά μας”.

The emplacement of the church bells in the community appears crucial, and highly related to the place as lined by this research. To bring this discussion of such an approach to an end, it is a fact that the community varies as far as their noticeability and perception towards the sound of the bell are concerned, and its members are all able to listen to the church bells in different frequencies during the day. However, and focusing on the subject of the research, every member of the community on the place seems to show various levels of familiarity with this sound, and be able to describe its appearance in their personal soundscape without difficulties. This familiarity with the particular sound is analysed in the very next chapter.

Before discussing the sound of the Ezan, it is essential for the analysis to cover the part of the emotions created when listening to the church bell, and how these can be connected to place, in a process of responding to the research questions. Such emotions are often created when appropriate attention to the sound details is given.

### **Detail in sound**

It has been observed that when talking about the sound of the church bell itself, people referred to the electronic bells which are widely used today to produce the desired sound. For some residents, the charm of the sound of the bell is on its nature itself, the natural clash:

“Bells. If they are not electronic... The bell, the bell of course I fancy it”.

“Καμπάνες. Αν δεν είναι ηλεκτρονικές... Η καμπάνα, η καμπάνα βέβαια τη γουστάρω” (31,GRm).

The priest himself expressed his annoyance about the fact that an electronic sound of the bell reminds of other places, and this way he indicated the importance of the natural clash in the place of the case of study:

“For the bells, there are facts that... there are cases which already started to... electric, it is something like... I cannot use the word, but they remind of places like England” (25,GCm).

“Για τις καμπάνες, υπάρχουν περιστατικά τα οποία... υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις οι οποίες άρχισαν ήδη να... ηλεκτροκινούμενες, και είναι λίγο έτσι...δεν μπορώ να χρησιμοποιήσω τη λέξη, απλώς θυμίζουν κάτι Αγγλίες” (25,GCm).

The electronic bell also appears to be an issue about (01,GCm):

“I don't remember... Maybe in weddings, now that you are saying that to me (electronic sound heard from the mosque). Listen to it, hodja is taking action... Did you listen to that? He turns on the PA now, I think, the cd, and he is going to start (pause) (dial sound heard). Are you listening? The ‘tootootoot’ is characteristic... The PA, because it is not live, it's a cd, in the past he was singing live and I think they killed two or three, they shot them while they were up there, and they stopped appearing, now they put... they put things like these, yes... CD. A nice coincidence. That he will be heard now.”

“Δε θυμάμαι να σου πω. Μπορεί και στους γάμους, τώρα που το λες. (ακούγεται ηλεκτρονικός ήχος από το μιναρέ) Άκου το... πιάνει δουλειά τώρα, ο χότζας... άκουσες; Βάζει τη μικροφωνική τώρα νομίζω, το cd, και θα αρχίσει. (παύση) (ακούγεται ήχος κλήσης) Ακούς; Το ‘τουτουτουτ’ είναι χαρακτηριστικό... Η μικροφωνική, γιατί δεν είναι live, είναι cd, παλιά τραγουδούσε live και νομίζω σκότωσαν 2-3, τους πυροβόλησαν που ήταν πάνω, και σταμάτησαν να βγαίνουν, και τώρα βάζουν... βάζουν τέτοια, να... cd. Ωραία σύμπτωση. Που θα ακουστεί τώρα.” (01,GCm)

### **Emotion and connection to place**

It has been often stated by the interviewees that they develop feelings towards sounds, as these remind them of the place they were raised, or spent time in the past. (15,TCf) is one of them who declares:

“These sounds call, it tells you something. As far as I feel. I don’t know why, maybe (because) I am grown up here” (15,TCf).

Turkish Cypriot (18,TCf), explaining a similar attitude in more detail, narrates:

“I was born and raised in Kyrenia and behind our house in Kyrenian harbour behind the castle, where I was living with my aunt who raised me, there was an Armenian or Christian or I don’t know who it belonged to but there was a very small church and every Sunday they would do it there and that bell would definitely ring. And because we are very familiar with it, I’d be concerned whether there was a war or the world was being destroyed or there was an earthquake going on because these are very nice and emotional things. I don’t know if you like it but I am a believer of my religion/faith so because I am attached, for me it is emotional” (18,TCf).

An amount of excitement connected to place is also shown by (23,GCf) towards the specific sound:

“The most pleasant sound, if you ask me... Because I hear the bell with a... it keeps us busy... I like it...And I question myself, or, can I say, if it is something, it is a pleasant sound, let’s say for me it’s a pleasant sound... You live it, alright, it is our religion, you live it more intensively I think, you experience it better”.

“Ο πιο ευχάριστος ήχος αν με ρωτάς εμένα... Διότι ακούω την καμπάνα μ’ έναν... ξεχνιόμαστε καλο. ... αρέσει μου. ... και διερωτούμαι, ή μπορώ να πω, αν είναι κάτι, είναι ευχάριστος ήχος, ας πούμε για μένα εντάξει είναι ευχάριστος ήχος... Ζεις, εντάξει, είναι η θρησκεία μας, το ζεις πιο έντονα, νομίζω, πιο καλά” (23,GCf).

While it is shown that inhabitants are indeed familiar with the tone of the bells and its respective meaning, it is observed that various and specific tones connote action, forming therefore a considerably important role to the construction of place. The phrase “Xehniomaste kalo” which would mean that “we keep busy”, not only would reveal this importance and stress the role of the church bell sound in everyday life, but it would also imply the development of a sense of belonging, as likewise a collectiveness in an activity is implied. Also, the phrase “it is our religion” describes this sense referring to a group where (23,GCf) feels to belong, and which was also observed in other interviewees, also from their non verbal attitude during their discourse. Also, as far as the churches around this area are concerned, she gives meaning to this sense through this sound. Accordingly, this sound is observed to be heard in the context of the sense of belonging to a Turkish Cypriot woman, without involving her religion, but a different, location-oriented sense:

“when I hear the sounds of the church also, it makes me as if something is calling also. I mean, the bells also call for something, calling people also...”  
(15,TCf).

(09,GCm), who is a religious woman states about the bell:

“In the morning, during the liturgy they ring it (the bell). Like, in the evening, when there is an ‘esperinos’ and there is a big celebration, it also rings. Sundays also, I came many times here. The bell of Faneromeni tolls. You feel more comfortable if the bell of your religion rings”.

“Το πρωί που έχει λειτουργία χτυπούν τη. Σαν το δείλις, κι έχει εσπερινό και είναι γιορτή μεγάλη πάλι χτυπά. Και Κυριακές, ήρθα πολλές φορές δαμέ. Χτυπά η καμπάνα της Φανερωμένης. Αισθάνεσαι πιο άνετα άμα χτυπάει η καμπάνα της θρησκείας σου” (09,GCm).

It was observed that especially residents of the northern part of the city consider the sound of the bells to be nice, melodic and calm, and the way they talk about it directly sets the basis for a part of the identity of the place:

“Church bells are part of the place” (05,Tm),

says a Muslim religious 28 year-old Turkish, who frequently visits the area and also demarcates the power of getting used to their sound. With his statement, and by taking other Turkish and Turkish Cypriots' opinions into consideration, any suspicion or assumption at this point of the analysis, resulting in the belief that the Turkish Cypriot community does not accept the main soundmark of the Greek Cypriots as part of the place, is rejected. On the contrary, (15,TCf) emplaces it as an important part of her everyday activity:

“If I am making any job, at home and... cleaning or anything, I stop and I listen to it. I don't know why. As if we do it... Muslims. When the eden... they make eden, you have to stop. Eating or drinking or dancing, usually they close down. I used to sing at the casinos. So when I hear the church bells also I stop to hear... this holy sensation in my... soul... it keeps me, it affects me... I feel good, as if it calls me, something else, different. Be cool, life is good, carry on... Something different, you know. It calms me down. I don't know why. I am used to it maybe, I am grown up all around the churches in Nicosia and I used to have neighbours, you know all Greek neighbors, all the time, we were grown up all together and play together with the children, then these things happened, we lost each other” (15,TCf).

In this process of approaching the sound of the bell, and analysing it as a soundmark, it is shown that both ethnic communities listen to it in a similar way, although from different perspectives, in the sense that they both respect it and understand its importance. It appears that the Turkish Cypriot community sees it with more respect, but the importance of its existence seems equal and firm to the value of place. Continuing on the study of the case thinking and discussing on the community of the divided city centre, one might say that everybody's attitude could mirror their own approach towards the place, as it appears to play an important role in their everyday life and activity. It is true that when asked about the sounds of the area, many interviewees spontaneously mentioned the bells, which would guide the research in questioning the sound's actual importance in their mind.

In this context, a more emotional approach was made by a worker in the area, who stated that the bells sound nice to his ears and he enjoys them, characterizing the sound of the bells relaxing and sensible.

"Church bells no, they make me ... feel more relaxed. And I don't know why but, from my childhood I used to like bells and... I think it's much more spiritual, and they make me feel much better, to be honest" (20,TCm).

In this case (20,TCm) also refers to positive feelings towards their sound. Accordingly, (03,TCm) described the sound of the church bells as something very important for the place, since they regulate his everyday life. One could safely assume that the everyday experience of an inhabitant's life could be characterized by this, as he also indicated their role to his everyday mood, - when they are heard, he feels nice. Additionally, special feelings and emotions regardless of religion are expressed by (18,TCf), who notices the sound of the bell, and raises its presence mostly on Sundays, characterizing it as an 'emotional' sound. Even for (17,TCm), who would feel nothing close to religion, and the sounds of the bells do not mean anything, his acceptance towards their cultural and religious value is clearly stated. However, he retains a playful attitude towards the specific sound, suggesting that it should be heard from the mosques.

"Santa Sofia, if you ask me, as a Muslim person, they should put a bell on it and everyone to go there to worship [laughs]" (17,TCm).

#### **5.4.2 Attitude towards the azan**

The sound of the Azan (or Ezan), is the hodja's call to prayer, and directly connotes to the Muslim religion and the Islam. As it has been described before, it resonates five times per day. Also, as correctly spotted by an inhabitant (and to the knowledge of all Turkish and Turkish Cypriot inhabitants) it is heard:

"Morning, Lunchtime, Afternoon, Evening and Night" (16,TCm).

To discuss the way the acoustic community connects with the place through this soundmark, it is important to analyse how its members perceive its characteristics when they listen to it. Of course, for many people, the particular sound, as it was already expected, signifies actions of pray, celebration or rituals. In a greater extent, musical elements are also traced in this sound, while the connection with place through it appears the most important aspect to be analysed, as it directly concerns the research questions.

### **Religious Movement (pray/celebration/rituals/respect)**

There is an environment connected to prays, celebrations and rituals where the call to prayer belongs. From simply characterizing a positive attitude, as an interviewee expressed that

“The sound of Ezan is a good thing...” (13,Tm),

to expressing gratitude and respect to the religious symbols in many inhabitants’ minds, when they are exposed to this. (18,TCf) expresses that direct connection to the sacred, as he declares:

"when I hear the first call for prayer, I'd say thank god that I woke up."  
(18,TCf)

From the same point of view, (05,Tm) describes that when he hears the imam, he thinks of his life mistakes and sometimes of death, while another interviewee combines it with the ritual itself when the discourse focuses on it:

“Well, people would go to the mosque to do their religious duties” (12,TCm).

The matter of respect would appear once more in this case.

“Sometime the foreign tourists come, French, English or German, they hear these things, and they are respecting. I mean, they don't say anything”  
(05,TCm)

and insists on the important role of the specific sound and its presence in the place, as

“The way it should be. Religion is a great thing for people, and should be respected” (05,TCm).

It is true that for the Islam, the case of respect appears a lot within the religion. Already, it was observed in the interviews that the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot interviewees mentioned the issue of respect regarding their attitude, not only towards the sound of the call to prayer, but also to the church bell and their significance.

### **A cultural and religious value**

It is important to stress the value of the sound of the Azan as an aspect of the cultural and religious everyday activity of the area. This was stressed by an interviewee who declares:

“...for me that is a different thing. For example, when I hear the first call for prayer, I'd say thank god that I woke up. I always open my eyes with a pray. I firstly think, ‘Thank god I woke up safe and sound’ and I immediately check up on my kinds and start the routines of my day and start the day. When I say this don't think that I am very religious, or that I pray 5 times a day. I am from the ones that ‘We drink the Raki and say the prayer together<sup>21</sup>’. I am a person who thanks god a lot. Or if I am here and the sales went well i thank god for it, I'd say “God, thank you for today's profit” and sometimes the income is not good so I thank god and say “God, thank you for what we gained and whatever was in our fate today and I am going home now”. I have a superstition as if the word of gratitude/ thanks done with the Azan would bring a good prosperity” (18,TCf).

Accordingly, a cultural and religious value is accepted and self-acquired by the interviewees when discussing the soundmark of the call to prayer. (17,TCm), for example, cannot detach the sound from its meaning and the reference to the Muslim

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<sup>21</sup> This is a Turkish phrase and it has a phrase frequently used in Cyprus as many people do not practise the religion but yet they consider themselves as Muslims although they drink alcohol.

religion. For him, it does not mean anything, although he accepts its cultural and religious value.

Another interviewee combines the specific sound with the meaning of freedom:

“it indicates a sense of freedom for us” (19,Tm)

while (21,Tf) regards it as a necessity stating that

"when Azan is played, (it is) the requirement of our religion " (21,Tf)

Also (22,Tm) refers to ‘calmness and peace’ when talking about his feeling towards the specific sound.

“That is a very nice feeling. We are Muslims. I mean I haven’t just worked here but previously I lived in the old city and it is very close to here. I believe it is a very nice feeling to hear the Azan. At the end of the day we are Muslims and that is a prayer of ours although in recent times the religion is distorted, it relaxes my soul. It’s only today that it hasn’t been heard for whatever reason but I hear the Azan 3-4 times a day when I sit here.” (18,TCf)

### **Musicality**

It has been observed that the interviewees distinguish musicality in what they hear as a religious soundmark. What resonates in the area defining their place appears to have musical properties. Such properties connect the place with the people in a way that is described below: (18,TCf) does not like the fact that the azan sounds from a cd. She would insist to listen to the live voice of the hodja, as this would be closer to the human nature and tradition. On the contrary, (13,Tm) prefers the speakers to the live voice. Not only this, he happily reports on the short sound coming before the pray, the one which is made when the speakers are turned on.

"When it first comes on, you hear a sound (attempts to phonetically replicate it). It’s when he turns it on first, there is a noise but then it goes away" (13,Tm).

(15,TCf) also stresses the musical element on the azan, while bells are perceived as music, also

"A person sings, a man sings, in Arabic words, and so we know it. So for praying time. But for church time, at the church the bells ring. It's an instrument, some kind, you know, it's the holy instrument, yes" (15,TCf).

It is a fact, going through the analysis that the musicality in hodja's call to prayer is evident in inhabitants' ears, more than the one of the church bells:

"The imam? Me, I like him... I like it during the night, during the day, I always like him. I don't like that he yells too much. It distorts. But otherwise, his presence, me I like it. As music. I am a musician".

"Χότζας; Εγώ τον γουστάρω το χότζα. Μ' αρέσει δηλαδή. Μ' αρέσει και τη νύχτα, μ' αρέσει και τη μέρα, μ' αρέσει πάντα. Δε μ' αρέσει όταν φωνάζει πολύ. Παραμορφώνει. Αλλιώς σαν... η ύπαρξή του εγώ τη γουστάρω. Σαν μουσική δηλαδή, σαν... είμαι και μουσικός ας πούμε, εγώ τον γουστάρω" (31,GRm).

(16,TCm) also sees it as music:

"now it's tradition, the song, it's called in Arabic. It says 'come and save your souls...The same melody...The language is Arabic".

In the question whether he is fond of the melody itself he replies:

"Yes, it's good. And some hodjas for example have a good voice. That makes it even better" (16,TCm).

The beauty of the musicality may, however, lose parts of its attraction as electronic elements appear, which might distort it, as (31,GRm) stated, or refer to something that is not live – thus not vivid:

“But you know what is bad about it? That is also an empty noise (pollution) because it no longer is alive and it is a call transmitted from a CD. I don’t know how good this is, for me it isn’t nice at all. It had to be sang live” (18,TCf).

For (07,GCm) the call to prayer is like a song:

“The sound of the imam does not bother us, we are used to it. It is like Greek music, a Zambeta's song...”

“Ο ήχος. Δε μας ενοχλεί, συνηθίσαμε. Σαν να ακούμε μια ελληνική μουσική του Ζαμπέτα.” (07,GCm)

Such details in sound, musical details also give to the place a special meaning, which is enhanced by the observed attitude people have when they describe such properties. On the other hand, disturbance is also traced. Commencing from the quote of the interviewee above, it is important to devote a part of the analysis to the discussion about disturbance and the sound of the azan.

### **Disturbance**

The level of disturbance has appeared during the interviews: the call to prayer is too loud said (26,TCm), while (12,TCm) declared of not being disturbed by it, although he was not asked about it.

“Well, people would go to the mosque to do their religious duties. What else could it make me feel? It’s not something that is disturbing”.

(20,TCm) doesn't like the fact that the volume of the call to prayer is high:

"The volume usually is up. And it’s not real anymore, before it was real. They used to just do it by themselves".

He is also bothered by the fact that the call is in Arabic. Also, he dislikes the fact that ezan sounds 'mechanic' now, whereas it used to be sung. In another case, referring to the disturbance caused by the hours of transmission, it was stated:

“But some people are complaining. Because, in Muslim religion I think it’s five [checks with his mates in Turkish who were sitting at another table] five times a day they are singing. That times, if it’s too much open, you know, the voice, the people who want to sleep in the morning they are hearing and they are complaining to the head of hodja, and now in the morning they are putting it down. It’s better. It’s better like this... To me, (with the sounds) no problem. Because they are putting it less in the morning, that’s important, because everybody wants to sleep, I mean they are starting 5.30. And then maybe I want to wake up 6.30 or 7, and then you open in high position, you are waking me up. That’s the... only in the morning, we have problem. In the morning” (05,TCm).

(20,TCm) declares a kind of disturbance:

“Ah... not much feelings, sometimes I get upset because it’s too high (laughs)... The volume is too high”.

To the question whether there is a standard-timed resonance in an everyday basis he replies:

“It is actually, isn’t it? Every time, every day, same time... The volume, no, the volume usually is up. And it’s not real anymore, before it was real. They used to just do it by themselves... the bells of the church never made me feel bad, I like it because... I don’t know, it depends. Nothing to do with religion, as I told you, I am..., but just if you want me to say a sound, bells never disturb me, but ezan, because it’s too high, it disturbs me” (20,TCm).

Not only the volume, however appears to be disturbing for some interviewees. In some cases, inhabitants declared to be annoyed by the hour of transmission, and also by the religious connotation which would recall any bad relationship with Muslims, as they are of an ‘opposite religion’. The process of the way of thinking of this Greek Cypriot woman is intriguing:

“For me, to begin with, the time is inadmissible, even if I disregard my religion, it is not my religion, let’s say I don’t see it like “I am a Christian orthodox” - the Muslims alright, they could have been any others. The time is disturbing. And maybe there is also something that does not please me when listening to it. That is, he starts and I say to myself “let’s finish it”. It’s not something that... It’s not. Now... it can be that they are opposite religions, maybe. I cannot deny it, I mean I don’t know if at that time I would listen to a byzantine hymn, if I would enjoy it. Probably. Most probably. It wouldn’t bother me that much”.

“Για μένα είναι αδικαιολόγητη η ώρα κατ’ αρχήν, ασχέτως αν παραβλέψω την θρησκεία, ότι δεν είναι η θρησκεία μου, ότι ας πούμε να μην το δώ ότι εντάζει επειδή εγώ είμαι ορθόδοξη χριστιανή, οι μουσουλμάνοι εντάζει, θα μπορούσε να είναι οποιοδήποτε άλλοι. Οι ώρες είναι ενοχλητικές. Και ίσως είναι και κάτι που δε με ευχαριστεί στο άκουσμα. Δηλαδή ξεκινά, και λέω ‘άτε να τελειώνει’. Δεν είναι κάτι που... Δεν είναι. Τώρα ...μπορεί να συντείνει το ότι είναι και αντίθετες θρησκείες, μπορεί. Δεν μπορώ να το αρνηθώ, δηλαδή δεν ξέρω αν εκείνη την ώρα άκουγα μια ψαλμωδία βυζαντινή, θα το απολάμβανα. Πιθανόν. Το πιο πιθανόν. Δε θα με ενοχλούσε τόσο.” (23,GCf)

On the contrary, another interviewee (29,GCm) declares that he is not disturbed, as he is used to its sound, while (23,GCf) gets more disturbed by the hodja, even if she doesn't know the exact times of the day that he sings:

"There is something that disturbs me in listening to this. It starts, and I think to myself, let's wait for the end of it".

It is obvious from what has been said, that it is the religious connotation that bothers her, and not the melody itself. (23,GCf), however, (04,GCm) expresses the majority’s attitude towards the sound of the call to prayer:

“why should we bother? Should we? Me, I think not.” (04,GCm)

“γιατί να μας πειράζει; Πρέπει; εγώ νομίζω όχι.” (04,GCm)

## Noticeability

(16,TCm) replies to the question regarding the frequency of the resonance of the ezan during the day:

“Five times... Morning, Lunchtime, Afternoon, Evening and Night... Each one is different. The longest one is lunch time... The pray itself is about, say, 15 minutes. But before that, the hodja makes a servan. That is the ten-twenty minutes it takes. But the whole lot is half an hour. On Fridays the lunchtime, as Fridays is a holiday, and Friday lunchtime prayer special meaning. That is normal. But the longest prayers are at Ramadan, the fasting month. After a special, long, maybe it lasts one hour, night prey. That is only during Ramadan month, that’s {...}every mosque {...} In the Christian Religion there is hymn singing. This does not happen in Muslim Religion. So this is silent prayer” (16,TCm).

The imam is clearly noticed by all inhabitants of the city centre of Nicosia. Some directly observe the particular sound, mentioning it firstly when talking about sound, while others recall it in later stages during the interviews, or only when asked. This may happen due to the habituation, the religious beliefs or other reasons, which would not concern the current research. On the contrary, what is important at this stage, in accordance to the research questions, is that the interviewees feel familiar with the specific soundmark, and declare noticing it by themselves, showing familiarity towards it. In a characteristic part during the realization of the interviews, it happened that the ezan resonated during the discussion:

“[hodja’s call is heard] ...there you go! there is a delay in the sound. More or less ten minutes. He overslept. He was bored”.

“[...ακούγεται ο χότζας] ...να! έχει καθυστέρηση ήχου, κανα δεκάλεπτο. Κοιμήθηκε. Βαριότανε” (01,GCm).

This attitude not only reports on the noticeability but also reveals a very familiar and casual relation with the sound and the producer of it, which would imply its importance on the connection to place. For (05,TCm), it is also noticeable, as when asked about the sound of the area he declared:

“Ah! Sometimes, the imams are praying here from minaret”.

The electronic sound which reminds of a phone calling is a trademark that triggers the noticeability of the call to prayer from the first moment, as (13,Tm) implied describing it.

### **Emotion and connection to place**

“The sound of Ezan is a good thing” (13,Tm).

What (13,Tm) supported was expressed by the majority of the residents of the northern part of the area of the case study describing their emotions. (22,Tm) states that calmness and peace is how the sounding of the ezan makes him feel, while Turkish Cypriot (18,TCf) states that she likes the Azan, and describes hearing the call to prayer as:

"... a very nice feeling. We are Muslims".

(19,Tm) describes his emotions likewise:

"Of course, that is our religion. It gives a sense of calmness/relief... At least we hear the Azans. And since we are Muslim. There is a relief/relax..."(19,Tm).

The sound of Ezan makes also (13,Tm) feel very good and comfortable, as he indicates. In the same attitude (05,Tm) thinks emotionally about himself and the actions of his life:

“I am relaxed... maybe think of something, how can I say, effect, attractive effect, and... relaxed... it reminds me something, for example, when I do mistakes before, then they sometimes come to mind, I wish I had not done these mistakes” (05,Tm).

His thinking of death, when he listens to the sound of the call to prayer, as described before, triggers intense emotions, which were also revealed in his gestures accompanying his talking about the subject during the interview.

(15,TCf) traces a therapeutic value in this sound, so every time he listens to it, he supports to feel better:

"The sound makes me feel, how can I say... If I am depressed I feel ok..."

(15,TCf)

The experience of the ezan was more intense in the past for (15,TCf), who describes a rather pragmatic procedure in the contemporary era:

"A person comes and puts cassettes. Cds, in all over the mosque it's all the same cd. They put and they press the machine, so it's all the same. There's no person up there, singing. Before, I used to see them up there. They were just walking around and they were making like this (doing a gesture with the hand) either voices, lively, now it is cd now" (15,TCf).

In the same attitude, which compares the contemporary sound to the one of the past, Turkish Cypriot (16,TCm) intensively connects it with place, by narrating his story, as, during his studies in England, he felt that he missed the call to prayer.

"Well, it was part of life, you see, it's... something that you hear ... in small places, calls to prayer from more than one minaret could be heard. You could hear call of prayer from different minarets, and as there was no automatic connection, one priest could be two or three seconds behind the other hodja, you see, calling to prayer, it's..." (16,TCm).

Greek Cypriot (04,GCm) appears less enthusiastic about the sound, although his emotions balances in himself with the sense of justice and fair:

"What can anyone say? He does his job. It's his right, isn't it? Ok, everyone does his job. As the priests do with us, he does the same over there".

“Κι εκείνος τη δουλειά του κάμνει. Δικαιούται, δε δικαιούται; Ε, ντάξει. Ο καθένας κάνει τη δουλειά του. Όπως κάνουν οι παπάδες εμάς, κι αυτός κάνει εκεί.” (04,GCm)

Contrary to the previous interviewees' view, (08,GCm) seems to be driven by intense and adverse emotions, as for him, the call to prayer is something unwanted. For him, the call to prayer is not desirable and should be stopped, as it has been stated before. However, now he is used to it and gives less importance to the ezan's presence, however, he cannot feel comfortable with it.

“I believe I cannot see it as something else. It bothers me, because it is a sound against my religion, it is a sound resonating from my occupied country, I cannot connect it with something else... It bothers me for what it is”.

“Πιστεύω δεν μπορώ να το δω σαν κάτι άλλο. Ενοχλεί με, διότι είναι ήχος ενάντια στη θρησκεία μου, είναι ήχος που ακούγεται από την κατεχόμενη μου πατρίδα, δε μπορώ να το συνδέσω με κάτι άλλο ... Ενοχλεί με για το τι είναι.” (08,GCm)

In the same spirit, Greek Cypriot (09,GCm) also declares:

“We are used to it. One who is not (living) here, will listen to him, and if he is here during this time listening to it, he gets scared. We (the inhabitants) got used to it... There is no problem... It's their pray. They should pray. Just as there is a mosque in Limassol, there is one in here. Where foreigners of this religion go and pray, it's the hodja”.

“Εσυνηθίσαμε. Ένας που δεν κάθεται δαμέ, θα τον ακούσει και άμα είναι δαμέ εκείνη τη στιγμή που το ακούει, ταρασσεται. Εμείς εμάθαμε. Δεν έχει πρόβλημα αυτό δαμέ. Είναι η προσευχή τους. Να προσευχηθούνε. όπως έχει στη Λεμεσό τζαμί, έχουμε κι εδώ μέσα τζαμί. Που πάσιν οι ξένοι που είναι της θρησκείας τους και προσεύχονται, είναι ο χότζας” (09,GCm).

However, he would be happy not to hear to the hodja's call again, as the sound of the church bell is what makes him feel happy:

"You feel more comfortable if the bell of your religion rings ... Why should I listen to the hodja? I am Greek Orthodox" (09,GCm).

(10,GCm) likes the church bell, dislikes the hodja's call, but he also declares used to it.

(24,GCf) self-defined as 'stranger', as she is new to the area. At the beginning she was annoyed, but now she likes it, as she considers it as something 'exotic' and transfers her somewhere 'else':

"In the evening, when I am relaxing, sometimes I relax with this... It's the melody, it's that it is in another language, and you feel something foreign, something different, it's relaxing... It makes me think of Morocco... it is also the landscape here [showing some palm trees]".

“Το βράδυ που θα χαλαρώσω, καμιά φορά χαλαρώνω και με αυτό... Είναι και η μελωδία, και το ότι είναι σε άλλη γλώσσα, και ότι νιώθεις κάτι ξένο, κάτι διαφορετικό, χαλαρώνεις... Μου θυμίζει κάτι σαν Μαρόκο, τι να σου πω, κάτι, παραπέμπει κάτι τέτοιο, γιατί εντάξει, η γλώσσα δεν καταλαβαίνω τι λέει, αλλά εντάξει, είναι και το τοπίο εδώ, άμα χαλαρώσω αυτά σκέφτομαι [δείχνοντας κάποιες φοινικιές]” (24,GCf).

“It also is in Gocmenkoy [an area close to where she lives, outside the old city] it is read all the time and we constantly hear it from where we live. I am not at all uncomfortable about it” (18,TCf).

(16,TCm) confirms the connection to place that was supported in this chapter by his words, nodding nostalgically his head:

“But in the morning, when there is absolute silence, it's nice. I also use a sense of feeling ... that you belong to something. That apart from the people who are killing each other in Iraq and etcetera, I mean...” (16,TCm).

From the analysis of the inhabitants' attitude towards the sound of the call to prayer, one can understand that the specific sound is deeply connected to the place itself. Connected to the everyday activity, it is shown that it triggers emotions, memories and attitudes towards its connotation and consequently the place. In other words, the specific sound facilitates thoughts and emotions about not only religion, but also other concepts and places, whether these are tourist destinations, home places, or war zones related to Islam. The connection, though, to the place is stressed, as the interviewees were eager to talk on the meaning, and revealed an attachment through it.

#### **5.4.3 Attitude towards sound events related to religion**

Having already observed that these two sound events are connected and related to religion, at this point it is judged important to examine other sound elements, either connected to the soundmarks or not, which also correlate with the subject. As an interviewee declares, the sound of the soundmarks and the sound of activities often related to religion are combined and audible at the same moment, like in the case of a lot of people walking:

“on Sundays there is a 'passarella' going on here. You understand it from the church, from the bell that rings”.

“Κυριακή, γίνεται πασαρέλα εδώ, είναι φοβερό. Ε, το καταλαβαίνεις από την εκκλησία, από την καμπάνα που βαράει” (01,GCm).

Such sounds are also connected to activities which take place often and have an impact on the soundscape of the area:

“During the celebrations, you understand that it is a celebration, I hear the church, yes, I hear people coming, the weddings we have in the summer, which is a seasonal issue, we have lots of weddings and christenings, lots”.

“Τις γιορτές, αντιλαμβάνεσαι ότι είναι γιορτές, ακούω την εκκλησία, ναι, ακούω τον κόσμο που έρχεται, γάμους έχουμε το καλοκαίρι, που είναι εποχιακό θέμα, έχουμε πολλούς γάμους και βαφτίσια, πολλούς.” (01,GCm)

At this stage of the analysis, it is considered useful to divide this main category into two subcategories, differentiating the attitude towards the sound directly related to both the religious soundmarks, as a whole, to the attitude towards other activities, although related to them.

### **Directly related to religious soundmarks**

An interviewee refers to ‘the cassette’ also expressing a complaint about the quality of the sound:

“I know, they put a tape to play, always the same. It’s not something different, something that changes”.

“Ξέρω μια κασέτα εκεί, βάζουν την, πάντα το ίδιο. Δεν είναι κάτι διαφορετικό, κάτι να αλλάζει” (23,GCF).

Small electronic sound bits resonate before the call to prayer, which trigger (01,GCM)’s interest during the implementation of the interview, making him to focus his attention there:

“Listen... hodja’s turn... did you hear that? He turns on the speakers I think, the cd, he is going to start”.

“Άκου το... πιάνει δουλειά τώρα, ο χότζας... άκουσες; Βάζει τη μικροφωνική τώρα νομίζω, το cd, και θα αρχίσει”.

Before the hodja’s call to prayer resonates in place, there is the dial tone heard all over Nicosia. This dial tone is recognizable and accepted as a slightly noisy element, which is characterized by electronic elements in its sound. It is also the signal of the pray-to-resonate in the area, as seconds after the hodja’s call will sound in the city centre. As the hodja who participated in the interviews himself explained, it is through radio frequencies that the minarets’ speakers are connected to one temple outside of the city centre, where a unique live singing takes place. Like this, his song is transmitted to the radio receiver of every mosque and reproduced.

### **Related to other religious activities**

“And the preacher singing the hymns. Beautiful... when there’s a liturgy, you can listen to him. We put the speakers on purpose. People who are bored to go to church, they listen it from here” (30,GCm).

Hymn singing as a sound appears also a representative sound of the area to the ears of (16,TCm):

“In the Christian Religion there is hymn singing”.

“My favourite sound is the sound of the liturgy on Sundays. You listen to the church liturgy through the speakers, even if it takes place in the church, but if something happens to me and I miss the liturgy I listen to it from home, as if I was in the church”.

“Ο αγαπημένος μου ήχος είναι την Κυριακή που είναι η λειτουργία. Ακούς στα μεγάφωνα της εκκλησίας τη λειτουργία, παρόλο που είναι μέσα στην εκκλησία, αλλά αν μου συμβεί κάτι και δεν πάω τη λειτουργία την ακούω από το σπίτι μου, σαν να είμαι μες στην εκκλησία” (10,GCm).

There are also attached speakers on the walls outside the churches, which transmit liturgies that takes place in the interior, something that facilitates the hearing of the voice of the priest and the chants in the outer space around the buildings. The existence, consequently of both Muslim and Christian priests find a way to declare their presence digitally in people’s place and everyday life.

#### **5.4.4 The importance of the religious soundmarks**

A crucial issue arising with the realization of the research has been whether the religious soundmarks, which define the acoustic community are indeed the most characteristic sounds to the ears of the inhabitants also, or if their relation to them is differently described. As the specific sounds would surprise a first time visitor, someone would assume that these are the most characteristic, and noticed in the first place. As (09,GCm) stated,

“One who is not (living) here, will listen to him (the hodja), and if he is here during this time listening to it, he gets scared”.

“Ένας που δεν κάθεται δαμέ, θα τον ακούσει (τον χότζα) και άμα είναι δαμέ εκείνη τη στιγμή που το ακούει, ταρασσεται” (09,GCm).

In the same spirit, (03,TCm) also supported the uniqueness of the area and the differentiation between the inhabitant and the visitor - the bells are part of his life, while to a visitor it might be of importance of other level.

When asked about the sound of the area, as an introductory question, a third of the interviewees referred directly to the azan, and associatively some of them mentioned the church bells. Such a team of valuing importance in the soundmarks would include Ignatios, who declares:

“The first (sound) that comes to my mind, the most characteristic, let's say”.

“Ο πρώτος (ήχος) απ' όλους είναι ο χότζας. Το πρώτο, το χαρακτηριστικό ας πούμε” (01,GCm).

and (02,EGm), who describes the area as a geographical, and, consequently, cultural crossroad due to the mutual presence of the imam and the church:

“it is a crossroad of East and West... for me it is very impressive, to have them both, together”.

“είναι σταυροδρόμι της Ανατολής με τη Δύση... είναι για μένα πολύ εντυπωσιακό, να έχεις και τα δύο, μαζί” (02,EGm).

Turkish (05,Tm) would respond that the sound of the imam is the first to notice without giving a second thought, as would Greek Cypriot (09,GCm) and Turkish Cypriots (22,Tm) and (24,GCf).

During the research, the following fact was importantly observed: when the interviewees who would not refer to the case by themselves, were repetitively asked to talk about sound, and more specifically sounds of their area, some of them would not mention any religious soundmarks until asked likewise. Whether such behaviour ranks as ‘very important’ or ‘of minor importance’, and whether it would, by itself,

question the definition which was cited in the beginning following Acoustic Ecology, is a matter that could be further investigated. Besides, the importance of the specific sound in people's everyday life appears to be crucial for exploring the research questions. What is significant in this case however, is that during the ethnographic research, the sense which was acquainted did not have so many variations: People seem to consider the religious soundmarks important, but not as of crucial significance in their everyday life. Familiarity and strong, confident opinions on the matters are expressed, but some of them show these characteristics only when asked: others would just ignore them, even if the subject of the interview would narrow down to sounds of the area. A characteristic case has been interviewee (29,GCm) who, even if insisting on talking on the sound of the hodja, he kept directing the discussion to the sounds of the migrants in the area. The same was also observed in another interviewee (32,GCm), who regards such sounds as an important part of the place.

Taking into account that disturbance has been declared concerning noise made by motorbikes, the stories of the sounds of the street vendors, the sounds of the tourists, sounds of demonstrations and concerts, or the birds which appeared many times in the interviews, it would be difficult to confirm a strict appliance of the definition in this case. What has been already analysed in the first parts of this chapter already demonstrates the main aspects of the inhabitants' attitude towards this sound, that is not negligible.

#### **5.4.5 Memories on the soundmarks/stories and place**

Many inhabitants have connected the religious soundmarks with stories of their past, either these regard their entire childhood or special events which happened once. (01,GCm) remembers himself in Alexandria when listening to the hodja:

“so the connection, let's say 'hodja-Turk' and all this story, let's say, I cannot feel it. You know what I mean? So, the image that comes to me the time I hear him is Alexandria. Where I had been for 15 days, for an exhibition, an event, anyway, so it doesn't bother me”.

“οπότε η συνδεσμολογία, να πω 'χότζας- Τούρκος' κι όλο αυτό το παραμύθι ας πούμε, δεν μπορώ να το νιώσω. Κατάλαβες; ενώ εκεί που... η εικόνα που μου έρχεται με το που τον ακούω είναι η Αλεξάνδρεια. Που είχα πάει για 15

μέρες, για μια έκθεση, ένα event τέλος πάντων, οπότεν δε μ' ενοχλεί”  
(01,GCm).

While (20,TCm) refers to his childhood, the bells' frequent resonance, and the charm they were giving to him in the past. (02,EGm) talks about the sound characteristics during a special event:

“With the celebrations. Me, I remember, with the church of Aghios Kassianos for example, the first time that I went in the Easter to attend the rituals etcetera, I was impressed, it was the first time, it will always be on my mind”.  
“Με τις γιορτές. Εγώ θυμάμαι, με την εκκλησιά Αγίου Κασσιανού για παράδειγμα, η πρώτη φορά που πάω στο Πάσχα για να παρακολουθήσω τις τελετές και τα λοιπά, μου έκανε εντύπωση, είναι η πρώτη φορά, θα είναι πάντα στο μυαλό” (02,EGm).

(15,TCf) remembers stories from the past when commenting on the soundmarks. She narrates:

“I used to live with my sister and in the morning I used to ... an American [means Armenian] church, just beside her house, she lives at the frontier, there is soldiers there, I used to pass from there. So I hear the church bells, I used to live before, at Aghia Louka...Aghia Louka, there is a big church there also, in the Turkish side. My father bought a house and we used to live there. The church is all stand-up there. ... I enjoy it. Sometimes it makes music, you know. I don't know, there was a feeling... My mother used to... she played there, at the Niagara Falls. And there was a... you go there and give a song and they play it up there. There is a big church there, and it makes the music there. ... And sometimes they make music. And I enjoy it...”.

(02,EGm)'s mind, declaring already attachment to place, goes to a church in Cairo when discussing about the sound of the bell and recalls the sound environment of the one church compared to the other:

“I live close to a very big and very important church, in Cairo. But the sound is different. It is something else. To say, you are in the environment, sometimes, how can I say... in another environment. The church is not the same. The sound is not the same”.

“μένω πολύ κοντά από μια μεγάλη, πολύ σημαντική εκκλησία, στο Κάιρο. Αλλά ο ήχος είναι διαφορετικός, είναι άλλος. Δηλαδή είσαι μέσα στο περιβάλλον... καμιά φορά... πώς θα το πω.. σε ένα άλλο περιβάλλον. Η εκκλησία δεν είναι το ίδιο, δεν είναι ίδια. Ο ήχος δεν είναι ο ίδιος” (02,EGm).

#### **5.4.6 Togetherness**

This part of the analysis partially achieves the validity of the argument of the research which regards the inhabitants of the city centre of Nicosia as a community, where the properties of place are clearly set. This is assisted by using a stimulating fact which evolved during the interviews: Except for the parameter of noticing each soundmark separately, as it has been expanded above, the noticing/mentioning the two soundmarks by the interviewees together was intensively observed. To many of the interviewees asked, it was coming natural to talk about the other soundmark when talking about the one of them, and this was done either comparatively or in contrast, with minor triggering events:

“And especially in the Islam history, changing the churches to mosques and mosques to churches is a thing. You hear the thing from Selimiye” (22,Tm).

(26,TCm) hears both soundmarks, without stating any disturbance. For him they are heard from everywhere and they do not create any problem. He also hears them both and mentions bells when asked for imam (12,TCm). (21,Tf) states accordingly:

"That is their way of worship/pray and this is our way of worship/pray. But we can't say don't ring the bells. No, when the bells go off, we also like that as well" (21,Tf).

(15,TCf) likes the presence of both religious soundmarks, while a question about one soundmark would often trigger a comparison: To (19,Tm), a response to how he feels when he hears the church bells is:

“Now everyone has got a religion according to themselves. And those people have got a religion of themselves and they relax/feel relief with that religion. And both sides are living it in freedom” (19,Tm).

“This is the way it should be” describes (02,EGm) referring to the co-existence of these two sounds:

“In this area, you know, you listen to the mosque on the one side, from the other you hear the bell. And it is, for me, as I am not Cypriot and I am not Christian, I am Muslim, you know, for me it is something very important, to have them both, together”.

“σ’ αυτή την περιοχή, ξέρεις, ακούς και το τζαμί από τη μία, από την άλλη ακούς και την εκκλησία. Και είναι, για μένα, γιατί δεν είμαι Κύπριος και δεν είμαι Χριστιανός, είμαι Μουσουλμάνος, ξέρεις, κάτι είναι για μένα πολύ εντυπωσιακό, να έχεις και τα δύο, μαζί” (02,EGm).

As it would have been expected, Turkish and Turkish Cypriots know exactly the times when the azan is heard, while most Greek Cypriots declare ignorance about the exact frequency of its appearance, although they notice the morning call to prayer, as a standard to their knowledge: this is also what would disturb them. However, disturbance due to the hour of the transmission of the Ezan was stated by Turkish Cypriots also. On the contrary, the frequency of the presence of the bell sound is unknown and/or habitual but unordered by everyone, even by the priest himself. Everyone, however, describes familiarity with the sound, and this is what encourages the research to examine them and their effects in a parallel level.

“Both of them, one rings the bells and the other sings the Azan, both of them say 'come to the house of God and worship'. So for me they have no difference. So for me, they wake the same thing...” (17,TCm).

(20,TCm), supporting the research's discussion about the place identity and the role of the emotional experience, describes talking about both sounds:

“Anytime I use to see the building [means Buyuk Han], it just... you remember what was it here before. You can feel it. That’s what I mean. You know, you hear the ‘tzami’<sup>22</sup> when... the pray... the holy prayer, you listen ezan. When you listen to the church, the bells are ringing as well, this is very multicultural. That’s what I like”.

The emotional importance of these sounds, untightened from the religious connotation but touching the religious first meaning is also stressed by another interviewee:

“We have the sound of the Azan and we have a ringing bell as well. Everyone has a thing of themselves...I get emotional. Whether the bells not ringing or the Azan that not sang, I’d cry” (21,Tf).

(04,GCm) reports:

"And these people, hodja is their pope, it is their religion, it is like this. We should not have any trouble. As for us the priests chant using the speakers at their churches, likewise in the opposite side the Turkish must have... it is our religion, everyone's religion, it is like this".

“Κι αυτοί άνθρωποι, κι ο χότζας είναι ο παπάς τους, είναι η θρησκεία τους, είναι έτσι. Δεν πρέπει να έχουμε πρόβλημα. Όπως εμάς ψάλλουν οι παπάδες εδώ με τα μεγάφωνα τους στις εκκλησίες και απέναντι ο Τούρκος πρέπει να έχει... είναι η θρησκεία μας, του καθενού, έτσι είναι” (04,GCm).

## **Respect**

The term ‘respect’ appears in (05,Tm)’s interview, who declares to be paying it towards both soundmarks. He prefers the imam as a Muslim, but also the church bells are part of the place for him. Also, (26,TCm) refers to this 'dual respect' when it comes to the sound of the other ethnic community:

“this is an island, a bi-communal island. I respect their religions as well. And they should respect our religion too. There is no harm in them” (26,TCm).

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<sup>22</sup> tzami: the word for ‘mosque’ in greek

On the issue of respect, an interviewee also stated that this resonance mix happens

“...the way it should be. Religion is a great thing for people, and should be respected ... It’s a cultural mix over here, you know, ... the bell or the minaret thing, because I respect the people’s religion. We don’t mind these religious things” (05,TCm).

Also, an interviewee raised the importance of the community as a whole, using mutual respect as something vital:

“there are community beliefs. And regardless of whichever community it is, every community respects it so I am not disturbed by them” (14,Tm)

and allows us to narrow down to the definition of the acoustic community.

The important fact that such elements reveal, in combination with the aforementioned separate analyses towards each of the main religious soundmarks, creates the need for the analysis to include and expand a concept of a common soundmark regarding these communities.

### **5.5 A common soundmark: Hodja’s Bell**

In this last section of the analysis, a comparative approach towards the signification of both religious soundmarks to the inhabitants is intended, in order to encourage the discussion on place attachment and place meaning and their relation to these sounds.

As it has been shown, when asked about the sound of the area, the majority of the interviewees mentioned sounds which were different from the religious soundmarks at the first place. However, in case such religious soundmarks were not present in their references, or when the interviewer brought the subject to the specific sounds, it has been observed that the mentioning of the hodja’s call came along with the mentioning of the bells and vice versa: In other words, it is very common that the people combine these two soundmarks and relate them in their minds, either when asked about the soundscape in general, or when asked about one of them. Through the

analysis of the interviews, the current section aims at discussing the ways in which the aforementioned subject and the specific sounds of interest can be regarded as one common, theorized collective soundmark related to place.

Although the research has approached one single community, geographically oriented, despite the geographical and political division in the city centre of Nicosia and despite the existence of various ethnic communities (namely Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots), there have been two significant soundmarks that stand out in this acoustic landscape: these are the particularly delicate hodja's call to prayer, and the resonating church bells, sounds which cannot go unnoticed.

To begin with, it was observed that regardless of whether people believe in their own God or not, and regardless of whether they are religious or not, in many cases their sayings implied that both soundmarks were treated as one single sound element, which is intensively meaningful.

Almost nobody characterized any of the church bell or the hodja's call as something vulgar and rough or as an '*audible intrusion upon acoustic space*' as such a coexistence has been described in the past (Weiner, 2010). However, it was the 19 year-old soldier performing his military service right in front of the Green Line, who stated:

“because they occupy half of our country, let's say, and [on top of that] they force us to listen to a 'kilintziros' [gypsy] to sing to us, let's say, and they play the tape just because they know that it bothers us. That's why they play it, so it is disturbing. Especially if you are right next to it, and you can see it also”.

“...κρατούν τη μισή μας χώρα ας πούμε και βάλλουν μας και τον... κάθε κιλίντζιρο και τραγουδά μας ας πούμε, βάζουν την κασέτα μόνο και μόνο γιατί ξέρουν ότι μας ενοχλεί. Γι' αυτό τη βάλλουν, οπότε είναι ενοχλητικό. Ειδικά άμα είσαι και τελείως δίπλα, που τα θωρρείς κιόλας.” (08,GCM)

Of course, there were people who do not feel comfortable with the call to prayer, like the blacksmith, who owns a shop right in front of the borders of the Buffer Zone, next to the soldier's outpost who claims that

“...just as there is a mosque in Limassol, there is one in here too. Where foreigners of this religion go and pray, it's the hodja”.

“...όπως έχει στη Λεμεσό τζαμί, έχουμε κι εδώ μέσα τζαμί. Που πάσιν οι ξένοι που είναι της θρησκείας τους και προσεύχονται, είναι ο χότζας” (09,GCm).

However, whether it appears relatively respectful towards the mosque, his words disclose that he would be happy never to listen again to the hodja's call again, if such a situation would be possible. In the same spirit, (09,GCm) reveals in his interview:

“I am a Greek Orthodox, why should I listen to Hodja?... You feel more comfortable if the bell of your religion tolls”.

“Είμαι Έλληνας Χριστιανός, και ν' ακούω το χότζα;... Αισθάνεσαι πιο άνετα άμα χτυπάει η καμπάνα της θρησκείας σου” (09,GCm).

During the implementation of the interviews, the feeling created, and also proven, was that bells were not bothering at all, neither for the Turkish and the Turkish Cypriots, nor for any other interviewee of a different nationality. On the other hand, the hodja's call has found few opponents, not only Greek Cypriots, but Turkish Cypriots also. Therefore, how can the research proceed to study these cases together? Could these two soundmarks create a common meaning for the members of the community? Such questions cannot be answered directly, as any balance regarding the political and religious aspect would be disorientated by the nature of the sounds, their frequency of presence during the day, or the loudness, as already analysed. However their various aspects can be commented in a similar concept. Already, a majority of the interviewees used the one sound in order to refer to the other. At some cases the importance of their co-existence was spontaneously stressed by the interviewees:

"I think that the neighborhood is, till now, for me, the best, it is very good for me, as it is, as we say in Cyprus, it is a crossroad of East and West. And in this area, you know, you can listen to the mosque on one side, from the other side you listen the church, and for me, as I am not Cypriot, nor Christian, I am a Muslim, it is something very important, to have both of them, together..."

“νομίζω η περιοχή είναι, μέχρι τώρα, για μένα, είναι η καλύτερη, είναι πάρα πολύ καλή για μένα, γιατί είναι, όπως λέμε για την Κύπρο είναι σταυροδρόμι της Ανατολής με τη Δύση. Και σ' αυτή την περιοχή, ξέρεις, ακούς και το τζαμί από τη μία, από την άλλη ακούς και την εκκλησία. Και είναι, για μένα,

γιατί δεν είμαι Κύπριος και δεν είμαι Χριστιανός, είμαι Μουσουλμάνος, ξέρεις, κάτι είναι για μένα πολύ εντυπωσιακό, να έχεις και τα δύο, μαζί...” (02,EGm)

A similar, also unifying attitude was expressed by non religious people, commencing from the talk on these sounds:

“Beyond not meaning anything, our ears are used to them. When you say Christianity or Islam, I don’t see any difference. As we can live together, it’s just a wall that separate us. The sounds are the same sounds” (17,TCm).

### **A Common Call**

It evolves from the interviews and the observation that in the case of the city centre of Nicosia, the sound of religious calls dominates the sound environment. Either this is the sound of the churches, the voice of the priest through the loudspeakers in the neighbourhood, or the Azan, the meaning of a common call makes its presence eminent in the area, affecting the entire geographically defined community, exposed to these sounds. The architectural structure of the city centre facilitates this process, as in many places the reverberation makes the sounds more resonant, so they get an equal characteristic, that’s why they are often commented together:

“It’s a matter of fact, that Christian people ring church bells. Muslim people call from minarets. They make different sounds for calling people to pray... Some tunes are nice, I think, they ring different tunes on different occasions, is that so? Some of them are quite nice” (16,TCm).

Such attitudes encourage the theoretical approach of the research, that sounds travel along with their meaning, and are directed to the ears of the acommunity as a whole, regardless of the initial purpose. Turkish Cypriot (15,TCf) reacts likewise:

“when I hear the sounds of the church also, it makes me as if something is calling also. I mean, the bells also call for something, calling people also. These sounds call, it tells you something”.

To bring the discussion to the main purpose of the research questions once again, the analysis proceeds by categorizing the aspects of these sounds, attended as one common, theorized soundmark. The categories have evolved according to the interviewees' points of view and the discussions which were generated after the main talk on these two sounds, but also the soundscape of the area in a wider sense.

### **5.5.1 Political Sound**

The reference to politics has been frequently observed during the interviews, most probably because of the significance of the meaning carried by the sounds under discussion. One, however, cannot overlook the fact that myself, as a researcher and interviewer was also a foreigner for the Greek Cypriots and twice a foreigner for the Turkish Cypriots and the Turks. Overall, an inhabitant talking to a stranger-foreigner about the sounds of his/her area, in situ, in an area of conflict, and especially talking about the sounds which in someone's mind would represent aspects of this conflict, would alone refer to relevant issues, by him/herself.

“Now, if the communities want, through sound, I mean, at the end of the day one of the biggest features of human beings is their ability to communicate through sounds, whether negative or positive, whichever way they want to use the sound. With sounds people can have a very luxurious life, they can have a very nice life or they can also have a very bad life as well, through sound. This is in the hands of the people. It's up to the good will of the communities... And if these two communities want, if they want to fix the bad incidents and resentments that took place in the past, the most successful way is to communicate through sound. For example, if a street musician from Greek Cypriot community would come here, after this place is fixed and a good organisation is set up, and would play Greek music, I would appreciate it. And a Turkish musician would play music in any street in the Greek side and would play Turkish songs, they should appreciate it too, so that through this they'd lift the tensions among the two communities. If people respect each other and intend on getting rid of the tensions...Not just for Cyprus and the tensions that took place between the communities but wherever around the

world, for all the people living in the world, a sound that is used in a positive manner means world peace. If people want they can achieve this. If they don't, they will live a life that they deserve.” (14,Tm)

The discussions, as it appeared, show a tension of the acoustic community, referring to the 'common soundmark', to bring the communities together and send a peace message. What is intriguing about this, has been that such messages were triggered by themselves, without any special pressure by the interviewer. The matter of politics deriving from the discussion on these sounds came in cases like (22,Tm), who, talking about the intermingled character of the place notes:

“Actually, there is something very interesting there too. In Turkish it writes Selimiye Mosque in English it's written Cathedral. What is it? Is it a mosque or a cathedral? I don't, know but this is it”.

Focusing on sound, the interviewee continues his political reference:

“You can hear a number of things in the same place all at once. And it's not just the sounds, over there, there is the picture of Deniz Gezmiş [a leftist revolutionary hanged by Turkish military junta in 1972] a little further down, you can see the [picture of] grey wolf. It's a place where the differences are intermingled with one another” (22,Tm).

Another interview (19,Tm) had connected the sound of the area to the loud voices of political manifestations which take place sometimes in the Buffer Zone – either by supporters of peace, or by nationalists. Overall, this place where the differences are likewise blended and interact with each other is the place of the whole community, which continues referring to such an issue on the discussions around the sounds under study.

### **Messages for Peace**

Leading of the discussion towards peace messages has also been obvious by other interviewees, who appear to be forming a community identity around this issue.

Talking about the area, the sounds of the area, or just themselves, a will to tranquil the tensions between the two ethnic communities has been observed:

“Beyond not meaning anything, our ears are used to them. When you say Christianity or Islam, I don’t see any difference. As we can live together, it’s just a wall that separate us. The sounds are the same sounds” (17,TCm).

In the same spirit, (22,Tm) comments that

“...over the last years in Cyprus, there is a polarisation, we see micro nationalism spreading. If I was to change things, I’d make sure people are not prejudiced about each other. This is what I’d change”.

Another interviewee also connected directly to political conversation and peace-making, referring to the church bells and the azan.

"For me it is emotional. You know why? Despite that we live apart since 1974, our cultures are the same. This can’t be denied. I mean our folk dances, music styles, our food styles, our sense of discipline in certain types of works, they are all the same. I don’t know if you ever had the chance to develop close relations with them. I haven’t had the chance but ... the way we have Azan, they have church bells. For me personally, it’s emotional really. It was wrong [referring to the division], perhaps we could have done it all together. And the church bell sounds reach here especially on Sundays" (18,TCf).

This specific interviewee also declared to be very familiar with the sound, as she was raised next to a very small church. An employee, who had been working for 21 years in the area was asked whether he could hear the hodja’s call to prayer, and by answering, he directly referred to the political aspect of this sound and unfolded his thoughts, from the same respect analysed before, to the peaceful co-existence:

“Imam? Ah! Sometimes, the imams are praying here from minaret, but very near from south, just hundred yards away from here, sometimes we hear the

bells over here. It's a cultural mix over here, you know, so as long as it's not too much every time noisy, it doesn't give you a problem. Even the bell or the minaret thing, because I respect the people's religion. We don't mind these religious things. I mean, the Muslims believe to what the hodja says, and the Greeks the Christians believe to 'papa' what he says, so as long as you don't give trouble to the other ones, no problem. The religion is no problem in this island..." (05,TCm).

Also, the mechanic, expressing his anxiety whether the recording machine is actually recording, gave his own consideration:

"The work places need to be moved out of Nicosia to the industrial area or a new area that would be created. And here, there need to be activities that would help the two communities get closer" (14,Tm).

Even anti-racist comments were evolved on the discussion around sound, like in the case of (05,Tm) who indicates:

"You know Ottoman came to the island, when... (imam starts the call to prayer...) This country is very old, Venetians live before. And I want to summarize, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live with each other. We omit, the... how can I say, the freedom of people, you now, nazi, Hitler, we omit these people, the nationalists."

As it was observed before,

"... wherever there are humans, there is life. Whether it is the tourists or local people or the shopkeepers, if they are all in unity, then we can understand that the area is alive." (26,TCm)

and the matter of respect, as analysed before, appears to be giving to the area the expected characteristics:

“Even though the church bells ring, we don’t say anything. That is their way of worship/pray and this is our way of worship/pray. But we can’t say don’t ring the bells.” (21,Tf)

Would such an attitude and connotation of both soundmarks lead to a consideration of one ‘collective’ soundmark, regarding these sounds? This is something which can be further investigated in the current process.

### **Migrants**

As stated in the chapter analysing the area, the city centre of Nicosia includes areas which are poor, where houses which have not been renovated are rented in low prices, mostly to migrants. As peace or anti-racist messages do emerge in the research, there is another attitude towards such migrants who have moved to Cyprus from outside the island and live there, and whose sound of the language or the sound of their activities appear to bother certain inhabitants:

An interviewee (05,TCm) is bothered likewise:

“...they are renting these houses for the people who are coming from Turkey, different countries, they are coming here as a labour, these people also leave inside the city walls ... I am not a nationalist person, you know, if they don’t give trouble for anybody, and they are leaving by themselves, I don’t mind actually, but if they are giving trouble, sometimes I am against them, if they do anything. But some of them, we have here, next door (points) neighbours, these kind of people ... they are a bit dirty. They are not educated people, these neighbour people, so they are making a little bit mess, this is the real problem actually. They are not very clean. This is the problem”.

Not only him expresses problems regarding the migrants, but also some others, who do regard the call to prayer and the sound of the other as part of the place, may express such an attitude about the migrants, initiating their argument from the sound of the various languages:

"... Chinese women, women from Philippines, in four small flats... In one there are the Philippines girls, who, often, fifteen of them may gather together, and shout and have fun together and make noise and so on. Next door, there is a Polish, who gave birth to a baby, the father was African, totally black... That's the situation we live in. And in the middle there is another one who looks like a nigger, with a girl from Philippines. That sort of things."

"...τες Κινέζες, τες Φιλιππινέζες, ... τέσσερα διαμερισμάτια ... Στο έναν είναι Φιλιππινέζες, οι οποίες κατά διαστήματα μπορεί να έρτουν δεκαπέντε, και να φωνάζουν και να διασκεδάζουν μαζί, και να κάμνουν θορύβους και λοιπά. Δίπλα έχει μια Πολωνέζα, η οποία έκαμε μωρό με έναν από την Αφρική, με έναν ολόμαυρο ... Αυτή είναι η κατάσταση που ζούμε. Και στο ενδιάμεσον έχει έναν άλλον που φαίνεται πως είναι αράπης, με μια Φιλιππινέζα. Τέτοια πράγματα" (33,GCm).

The sound of migrants fighting is also declared to be a disturbing characteristic of the area by (04,GCm) too:

"Here, it used to be a jungle in the past. When there were all Pontics [Pontian Greeks], punks, all the children, fighting around, Faneromeni [the church] used to give them food, they were throwing eggs here... But now they are gone, it's all fine here, you don't see or listen to any fuss. These punks are gone now. Small children only are left."

"Δαμέ παλιά ήταν ζούγκλα. Όταν ήταν οι Πόντιοι όλοι, αλήτες όλα τα παιδιά, φασαρίες εδώ, τους έδιναν η Φανερωμένη τρόφιμα, αυτά, σύρναν τα αυγά εδώ, πεεεε. Αλλά τώρα φύγανε εδώ είναι μια χαρά, δε βλέπεις ούτε ακούς ποτέ σχόλιο. Φύγαν αυτοί οι αλήτες. Μικρά μωρά τώρα εμείνασι..." (04,GCm).

Similarly, an opposing attitude towards the migrants was also expressed by another interviewee, who declared:

"I am forced to leave quickly, because everyone is a foreigner here, it is a dangerous area ... it is dangerous by the foreigners who are here. In the night, Romanians, Bulgarians, all these, they sit on the pavements and they keep drinking from six till the morning".

“Αναγκάζομαι τζιαι φεύγω γλήορα από δω γιατί εκτός του ότι είναι όλο ξένοι εδώ, είναι και επικίνδυνη περιοχή ... επικίνδυνη από τους ξένους που είναι εδώ. Τη νύχτα έχουν το συνήθειο οι Ρουμάνοι, οι Βούλγαροι, τούτοι ούλλοι, κάθονται στα πεζοδρόμια και πίνουν από τες 6 μέχρι το πρωί” (32, GC).

However, there is another opinion, which appears to express another part of the community, who states about this situation:

“...Turkish Cypriots are amongst themselves, among their own circles and their own relationships and ties. Different groups like the ones from Turkey are among their own groups and their own relationships and generally, Pakistanis, people from Turkmenistan and other different groups are all in their own groups. There are different groups and they are all ‘other’ for each other and they are prejudiced towards one another. Now, how can I see this so clearly? I came here at the age of 10 and I became a part of this place in a way. I came to see the things from everyone’s perspective. When you are displaced in a land far from the one you were born in, you become the other and another and you get to grow up in a way seeing everyone’s perspective” (22, Tm).

### 5.5.2 The Sacred Sound

It is not the first time religious sounds are compared and presented together. Mazumdar and Mazumdar, investigating place attachment and Religion presented the following table (2004, p. 391):

<b>RELIGION</b>	<b>Hinduism</b>	<b>Judaism</b>	<b>Islam</b>	<b>Buddhism</b>	<b>Catholicism</b>
<b>CHARACTERISTICS OF SACRED STRUCTURES</b>					
<b>Height</b>	<i>shikhara</i>		minaret		spires
<b>Sounds</b>	temple bells	ram’s horn	<i>muezzin’s</i> call to prayer 5 times a day	gong, bells	church bells

It is a fact that religions resonate to their believers. A sacred sound enhances the experience and thus it is used to express a call, creating a soundmark in the area it resonates.

"When you see, people who are not from the area, coming from far away, very far away, to spend the Great Friday in Aghios Kassianos church, and you listen to their footsteps, next to the window, you know: "now, we are starting..." (02,EGm)

This interviewee described a religious value of the place, which is enhanced by another one, who declared:

"depends on the day, depends on the people around, you can have different sounds, you can have silence sometimes, you can feel history" (20,TCm).

Referring to the bell, (25,GCm) described that

"...sounds which take place in the old city are preserved as they were in the past, sounds which were manual, so they had a religiosity, even in while you listen to them".

"...ήχοι που συμβαίνουν στην παλιά πόλη, διατηρούνται αυτοί που ήτανε στο παρελθόν, οι οποίοι ήταν χειροκίνητοι, και είχαν έτσι μια... ευλάβεια, ακόμα και στο άκουσμά τους."

The part of the research analysing this 'Hodja's Bell' would have been incomplete, if the analyses of the attitudes of the protagonists or 'producers' - a priest and a hodja themselves - towards the soundmarks under investigation were not taken into account. Having analysed the political aspects triggered by the discussion around sound, and having commented on the community's formation regarding place on such attitudes, at this point, the research procedure examines the interviews of the two leading men, intending to transfuse 'sacred' properties to the specific sound and justify such a reference. For this purpose, it appears worth analysing some characteristic parts from their interviews, which would support such a characterization. Interestingly enough, during the talking that took place, the two priests talked about the spirituality and

sacredness of sound, and one might say that they talked in similar ways, although representing 'opposite' sounds. So, the interviews of the Christian priest and the Muslim imam here would elevate another dimension of the religious soundmarks, the one which is distant from the social aspect and which approaches a more spiritual feature.

### **mystery**

The environment around these two soundmarks was described, on the way to approach a meaning of one collective sound, as it is being formed throughout this research. In both cases, the talks about the overall soundscape of the area triggered a dialogue which ended with issues on the specific sounds: As the hodja's call to prayer and the bells are sounds of great importance, which are included in the theme under study, it would have been wise to expand the interviewees' opinions to a greater extent about sound: with this occasion, a wide, -often with surreal characteristics, too-discussion started, in both cases, unveiling the spirit of mystery in the case. The imam, after having spoken on the consideration of the 'ses' sound as sacred waves which stay and circulate, even if their actual sources of the sounds are now electronic, described:

“Everything is sound. But the sound is not everything. But everything is sound... Even the people who are dead, their sounds do not vanish. And what I do [as profession] now, is exactly this. Being able to hear the sound/voice of my dead grandfather. Hearing the sounds/voices of the dead Islamic elderly. Hearing the sound/voice of Hazreti [Prophet] Muhammad. And hearing Prophet Jesus's sound. Because their sound/voice is not lost. It travels around the emptiness of the space” (11,Tm).

During these words, interestingly, the Hodja wanted his speaking translated almost word-by-word. This was offering him enough time to think what he was going to say, and said it in low pace looking intensively the researcher in the eyes, whereas the interview ended being a sermon.

In the same spirit, the Christian priest would also argue about the eternal and mysterious aspect of sound, when commenting on sounds which refer to the past:

“There are elements like these which enclose a mystery. A theological mystery. A mystery you cannot explain. You live it, and it is enough. You can feed from this mystery and feel that your experience is real”.

“Υπάρχουν και στοιχεία έτσι, που κλείνουν ένα μυστήριο. Ένα μυστήριο θεολογικό. Ένα μυστήριο το οποίο δεν μπορεί να το εξηγήσεις. Το βιώνεις, και σου είναι αρκετό. Μπορείς να τρέφεις από αυτό το μυστήριο και να νιώθεις ότι είναι άψευστη αυτή η εμπειρία σου.” (25,GCm)

After having argued about the great value of the ‘old, natural sound’ of the bell, compared to today’s many electronic bells, he added:

“Even the bell, not as they try now to make it sound nicer, but in the old way that it sounded, has a mystery to tell you. But even if I explain it to you, you won’t understand it. You have to live it. Come and see”.

“Ακόμα και η καμπάνα, όχι με την προσπάθεια που κάνουν να την ωραιοποιήσουν, αλλά με τον παλιό τρόπο με τον οποίον ηχεί, έχει να σου διηγηθεί μυστήριο. Αλλά και να σου το εξηγήσω εσένα, εσύ δε θα το καταλάβεις, πρέπει να το ζήσεις. Έρχου και ίδε” (25,GCm).

This important part of living a whole experience deriving from sound, and treating listening as an integral part of such an experience was also put by the Egyptian (02,EGm) who insisted on the sound as an unbreakable part of a place.

At one point, Hodja described his wife’s voice as the most characteristic sound of his area, and extending this humorous attitude, he quoted meaningfully what would be applied to a harmonic aspect of the sacred sound of this research:

“...it’s when the opposing sounds come together that the rhythm comes about... And do you know what is formed by the come together of every big sound? Absolute silence/(peace) is formed” (11,Tm).

## **a sacred call**

The act and double -bell's and hodja's- essence of calling is here confirmed, as it was studied before, this time by the priest's words:

“The bell is an instrument which we use at the church, through which people are called. Right? You call people to come to church because there are vespers, because there is a liturgy, because there are matings, because there is an orison... for different events which take place in the temple. In the past, the bell was used for other reasons too. It was also used to tell the time. Everything has its own story. It was always its story”.

“Καμπάνα είναι ένα όργανο το οποίο χρησιμοποιούμε εις την εκκλησίαν, με το οποίο εκκαλείται ο λαός. Εντάξει; Καλείς το λαό να ρθει στην εκκλησία, γιατί έχει εσπερινό, γιατί έχει λειτουργία, γιατί έχει όρθρο, γιατί έχει παράκληση... για διάφορες εκδηλώσεις οι οποίες διαδραματίζονται μέσα στο ναό. Παλιότερα η καμπάνα χρησιμοποιούνταν και για άλλους λόγους. Χρησιμοποιούνταν και για να δίνει το στίγμα της ώρας. Το κάθετι είχε τη δική του ιστορία. Ήταν πάντα, η δική της” (25,Gcm).

## **sermon**

Hodja's explanation of the disturbance by the bell or the call to prayer from the inhabitants would have been put in previous chapters which regard the disturbance of the residents, if it would not have been described as 'fear for the God'. The mystery connected to such a sound by the hodja is enhanced this way, which, in the end, would result in a sermon:

“I've even seen people that have got affected from the spirituality of the voice (his voice) and converted to Islam... because (of)...the thing that the connotation of sound and what it evokes (as it) does not actually carry fear... (but) It's actually Love. Because, the person who is the most afraid of God, is the one who loves him the most... That's why, be afraid of God and be a good person” (11,Tm).

“wine finishes but respect prevails, if there is idiocy/donkeyness in the dough, it says behind<sup>23</sup> ... Now what’s the use of singing Azan or ringing the bells. There are careless people” (11,Tm).

A sermon worth mentioning, with the occasion of sound was also made by the Christian priest:

“We have an Eastern culture with a Western spirit. Right? And the Eastern culture includes mystery. Mystery does not scare the human being. In contrast, it encourages him to court it to be able to live. Mystery is not mysticism. Right? Mystery is experience, which is shared in a mysterious way. The old city has a mystery to tell, which you experience, my angel. You let it go through your flesh and you explain this only through experience, through tradition. Otherwise, you will violate it, it won’t be of any use. When you surrender yourself, you gain advantage, and the will to surrender yourself”

“εμείς είμαστε ανατολική κουλτούρα με δυτικό πνεύμα. Εντάξει; Και η ανατολική κουλτούρα εμπεριέχει μυστήριο. Το μυστήριο δεν είναι ό,τι φοβίζει τον άνθρωπο. Αντιθέτως, τον ενθαρρύνει να το επιδιώξει για να μπορέσει να βιώσει. Το μυστήριο δεν είναι μυστικισμός. Εντάξει; Το μυστήριο είναι βίωμα, το οποίο κοινοποιείται με έναν μυστήριο τρόπο. Η παλιά πόλη έχει να διηγείται μυστήριο, το οποίο το βιώνεις, άγγελέ μου. Το αφήνεις να περάσει στο πετσί σου και το εξηγείς μόνο βιωματικά, μέσα από την παράδοση. Άλλωσπως θα το βεβηλώσεις, και δε θα σου γίνει χρήσιμο καν. Όταν αφεθείς έχεις να ωφεληθείς επιδιώκεις να αφεθείς” (25,GCm).

The priest described the melody and the five different ways of singing of the call to prayer with a remarkable adulation, as observed. He insisted in the pleasure he gets when he listens to the folk musical scales (makams) in the song of hodja, scales which are familiar to the Byzantine and folk Greek music. Indeed, he persisted with mentioning specialities of all the songs one by one, from the morning to the night’s

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<sup>23</sup> This is from a poem from Fuzuli who lived around the end of 15th century. The poem says that diploma can take the illiteracy away but if a person is an idiot that stays with him forever.

pray. Paradoxically, the hodja confirmed him by commenting on the universality of such sounds and the ignorance of people on these sounds:

“...there are people who don't care for anything so it doesn't matter if it is the Imam's voice or whether it is the church bells ...neither informed about the Azan nor the bell. We've forgotten everything. We even usually forget about death. Thus, these people that forget, those who even forget about death and think that they will live forever. Interests become dominant [we have to care more]. Because there is someone behind us and that someone is Death. It can come at any moment.” (11,Tm)

Both attitudes of the 'representatives' of the soundmarks under study seem to justify the research's assumption about the universality of the specific sounds and the meaning that they attempt to transfer to the people. Especially regarding the acoustic community, where the research question focuses, the essence of such sounds appears, to what both the hodja and the priest declared, intended to touch people's heart and feel part of the place.

### **5.5.3 Habituation**

At this point, the category regarding the attitude of 'getting used' is important to be analysed, as it was observed many times during the interviews as an answer and a comment on both soundmarks, but also on other sounds, which were mentioned in this concept.

The soldier who has expressed disturbance from the hodja's call to prayer, speaks about the future, when he will leave the area, finish his army duties, and declares that he will miss the area:

"I will miss this area in general, because, ok, it took me time to get used to it, and I will be having all the sounds, sounds which I can listen to every day and I won't have them later, it won't... But I like the cats here".

“Θα την πεθυμήσω γενικά αυτή την περιοχή γιατί ντάξει, πήρε καιρό να τη συνηθίσω, και θα έχω όλους τους ήχους, ήχους που είναι να ακούω κάθε μέρα και δε θα τους έχω ύστερα δε θα... Αλλά μου αρέσουν οι γάτοι εδώ” (08,GCm).

Beginning from the cats' sound which was connected to the discussion about the religious soundmarks as it evolved during this debate, a discussion on the analysis of the habituation needs to start, especially regarding the soundmarks under investigation. The feature of habituation emerged without having asked about it. Interviewees referred to the habit of listening and the 'getting used to the specific sound' instantly, presenting it as an 'excuse' or an additive element in their sonic experience. A respectable number of the inhabitants declare, in various ways, that they are used to the resonating religious soundmarks. Some characteristic examples, representative of the attitude that was expressed during the interviews are analysed below.

An interviewee (05,Tm) reports about the habituation, to express his sense of 'safety' towards them, both the church bells and the hodja's call to prayer:

“You know, these sounds I hear a lot. For example, when I come here, I hear the same sounds. And, how can I say... ‘Alismak<sup>24</sup>’ I can’t describe my emotion about this”.

Another interviewee (18,TCf) also talked about getting used to the sound of the craftsmen:

“there are carpenters at the ‘back streets’ and as he [referring to me] mentioned the “tack, tack, tack, tack” hammering noise comes from there, that is a feature of our craftsman and we are so much used to those voices that we don’t hear them.”

(33,GCm) also declares used to the sound.

“We got used to it... And unfortunately, as we say that “you get used to everything”, unfortunately, even the occupation, let’s say, here, gradually, when nothing is done, any improvement, any change, any evolution, we will get used to it too, unfortunately”

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<sup>24</sup> Alışmak: Turkish word for “becoming familiar with something”.

“Εσυνηθίσαμε... Και δυστυχώς, αυτό που λέμε ότι το κάθε τι το συνηθίζεις, δυστυχώς, ακόμη και την κατοχή ας πούμε δα κάτω, σιγά σιγά, όταν δε γίνεται κάτι, μια βελτίωση, μια.. αλλαγή, μια εξέλιξη, θα τη συνηθίσουμε και αυτή δυστυχώς” (33,GCm).

Along with the habituation, it was observed that the acoustic community tends to accept the -regarding the soundscape- situation as it is, stating incapable of changing it. Whether there would be a tendency of defeatism or a feeling of helplessness would be another research to be done, however it is important that it is reported in the current study.

Greek Cypriot (27,GCm) declared about hodja's call (also referring to the sound of the cars):

"It's a problem, but you cannot do something for them to stop".

"Είναι πρόβλημα αλλά δεν μπορείς να κάνεις κάτι για να σταματήσουν αυτά".

“Oh, it’s a matter of getting used to it, but it’s a nice sound, some people are disturbed in the morning when the hodja sings it, but many years ago, they used to call it in Turkish, not in Arabic. And that definitely sounded better. Once you could understand properly because of the language he was singing, and because it is your own language, maybe it comes better to the ear. But now it’s tradition, the song, it’s called in Arabic. It says ‘come and save your souls’.” (16,TCm)

Greek Cypriot (01,GCm) also declares used to this sound, and for him something will be missing if gone.

“We are used to it. One who is not [living] here, will listen to him, and if he is here during this time listening to it, he gets scared. We [the inhabitants] got used to it... There is no problem... It's their pray. They should pray. Just as there is a mosque in Limassol, there is one in here. Where foreigners of this religion go and pray, it' s the hodja." (01,GCm)

“Εσυνηθίσαμε. Ένας που δεν κάθεται δαμέ, θα τον ακούσει και άμα είναι δαμέ εκείνη τη στιγμή που το ακούει, ταρασσεται. Εμείς εμάθαμε. Δεν έχει πρόβλημα αυτό δαμέ. Είναι η προσευχή τους. Να προσευχηθούνε. όπως έχει στη Λεμεσό τζαμί, έχουμε κι εδώ μέσα τζαμί. Που πάσιν οι ξένοι που είναι της θρησκείας τους και προσεύχονται, είναι ο χότζας.” (01,GCm)

The analysis of this part reveals that the community considers it important that they are used to the resonance of the soundmarks. Part of it seems to feel pleased or even happy about this situation, while another part expresses a certain disappointment vis-à-vis this habituation. However, it remains a fact that this type of habituation forms a strong part of the place identity.

#### **5.5.4 Necessity**

The interview guide has intensively been promoting a discussion around a ‘what-if’ situation regarding the presence and absence of the religious soundmarks. This would mean that the reaction of the inhabitants about a possible 'mute' of the one or the other soundmark would be spoken, and accordingly correlate to the acceptance of one ethnic community’s religious beliefs, everyday habits, and consequently, place identity to the other’s:

“These type of people, these type of things, the religion things, I think it hurts people. If you offer, ‘I don’t want imam to say these’ or say to the Greeks ‘I don’t want the pope to ring the bell anymore over here’, it’s not nice to me, because the religion is very important thing to me, you know. People, especially I think over here same. and the Greeks are same, Sundays they go to the church in Greek side, I see them.” (05,TCm)

There were some cases who declared indifference, like (07,GCm) who wouldn't mind if the imam would stop, while answering to the question “what if these two sounds were absent?” a Greek Cypriot replied:

“It wouldn’t be the same, it is different. For sure, these sounds evolve out of religious procedures concerning the human, so anyway they have an

introversion, regardless of the religion to which they belong. The same would be in a monastery with the song of the monks, I don't know if they sing, but for sure there is always an introversion, a manner talking to ourselves differently. I am not religious. In any religion and in whatever way” (31,GRm).

“Όχι δεν είναι το ίδιο, είναι διαφορετικό. Σίγουρα προκύπτουν μέσα από θρησκευτικές διαδικασίες ας πούμε, που έχουν να κάνουν με τον άνθρωπο, εκ των πραγμάτων έχουν μια εσωτερικότητα, ανεξάρτητα ποιας θρησκείας είναι, το ίδιο θα μου έκανε και ένα μοναστήρι βουδιστών ας πούμε, δεν ξέρω, τραγουδούν αυτοί, τι κάνουν, δεν έχει να κάνει με το ποια θρησκεία είναι δηλαδή, σίγουρα πάντα έχουν μια εσωτερικότητα, έναν τρόπο που μας μιλάει λίγο μέσα μας διαφορετικά ας πούμε. Δεν είμαι θρήσκος, σε καμία θρησκεία και με κανέναν τρόπο” (31,GRm).

Greek Cypriot Ignatios, who declared used to it, states that something would be missing if gone (01,GCm), while (19,Tm) reacts to this 'common soundmark' likewise:

“Vallahi (honest to god) if the Azan wouldn't be heard it would be a bad thing and if the bells wouldn't be it will be a bad thing” (19,Tm).

For (05,TCm), in this case,

"as long as it's not too much every time noisy, it doesn't give you a problem. Even the bell or the minaret thing, because I respect the people's religion” (05,TCm).

### **5.5.5 “We” - a collective soundmark**

It was observed that the inhabitants in the interviews enjoyed talking about sound referring to themselves using the first person of the plural. “We” and “us” appeared many times in the interviews, as it has been shown above, declaring a sense of belonging and a sense of collectiveness, enforced and shaped by the discussion around sound. Either this was gathering believers of the one or the other religion, or if

this was referring to their role as inhabitants of the city centre of Nicosia, collective references were common. A note-worthy fact has been the direct switch from the first singular to the first plural when the discussion was directed to sound issues, and specifically to both religious soundmarks, like the one interviewee, who, being asked about his feelings, declared:

“We are used to it.”

“Εσυνηθίσαμε.” (09,GCm)

Whether this would suggest a feeling of being part of a group, consisted of listeners or different ethnic communities is not something that the current research wishes to investigate. However, the fact of self-referring to the plural person when talking about sound should suggest a sense of belonging to a community and a place, where the ethnographer has to deal, as it appears, with a collective soundmark, and not two or more different or opposite ones.

#### **5.5.6 One clock**

The two soundmarks, as studied, or a 'common soundmark' as this research is investigating appear to obtain by the inhabitants a secular meaning rather than what their name would imply. A call to prayer, either this is to the christian or the muslim community functions in cases as a clock for many inhabitants, which indicates the time of the day or connotes actions which are nonreligious, but related to everyday life.

A participant (21,Tf) declares about this fact:

“when those bells ring, we say “ohh! how nice it’s 4 o’clock, 5 o’clock”  
(21,Tf)

while another interviewee (02,EGm) knows that, every time he hears the sound that

“now, we are starting, we notice it too, now it is 11” (02,EGm)

“τόρα αρχίζουμε, τώρα καταλαβαίνουμε κι εμείς, τώρα είναι 11” (02,EGm).

Hodja's call to prayer is perceived likewise by (09,GCm):

“You understand that it is noon, when you hear him. Or in the morning, someone who does not wake up, or does not set an alarm clock to go to work, and when s/he listens to him and wakes up: 'Ah! It's five o' clock.'”

“καταλαβαίνεις ότι είναι μεσημέρι, όταν τον ακούς. Ή το πρωί, ένας που δεν ξυπνά, ή δε βάζει ρολόι να ξυπνήσει να πάει δουλειά, κι όταν τον ακούσει και ξυπνήσει.. ‘Α! Πέντε η ώρα’”.

In the same concept, other sounds work likewise for the community, as (18,TCf) stresses:

“...we have a disabled girl called Filiz who shouts a lot when she comes here. When she comes here and lets out her shout, she shouts so much/loudly that, you won't believe but we understand that it is 10 o'clock here and we meet for a coffee” (18,TCf).

The direct reference to the time and an everyday schedule regulated by time enforces this kind of approach to the sounds as one, and confirms their importance within a regular day.

### **5.5.7 Activities**

As it has been shown above, the two religious soundmarks are highly related to the everyday activities which take place within the community. Inhabitants of both sides recognize and notice the religious soundmarks, which not only work as such, but also appear, according to the analysis, to regulate the rhythms of everyday life. The fact that for someones such sounds are signs of time, celebration, or other movement in the area, shows that they indicate human actions, and are indeed connected to habits and everyday customs.

### 5.5.8 The place between/ A Border

The analysis has discussed the interviewees' connection to place, concerning their current position, but also to their memories. There is a place, though, between these zones under investigation, which is not inhabited, although both religious soundmarks resonate. *'Not referring to location and thus not re-inserting us into place, or even evoking place, soundscapes estrange us from place and expose us to something else, an opening, a spacing'* (Foreman, 2011, p. 270). The interpretation of the soundscape based on the common soundmark of the 'hodja's bell' has formed a challenge for this argument. What is heard in the stripe of the Dead Zone is the sound of absence, as Erens characterizes the sound of an area where no people are there, whilst the area was meant to host people's activity (Erens, 362). The analysis has clearly indicated a sense of 'absence' in this case. At this concluding point one would ask: does the place for Hodja's Bell exist? In the following quote the writer talks about the sound of the trains, but it appears to taking into account elements that are common with the case of this research: *'These junctions have no place. They indicate themselves by passing cries and momentary noises. These frontiers are illegible; they can only be heard as a single stream of sounds, so continuous is the tearing off that annihilates the points through which it passes'* (de Certeau, 1988, p. 113).

## **6 Conclusions – Discussion**

### **6.1 Summary**

The constantly evolving field of acoustic communication has been creating space for further investigation allowing relevant theoretical issues to be embedded and interact with the existing terminology. Especially with respect to the procedures constituting the listening experience, and not just hearing alone, the contemporary discussion around place and the attachment of people to it, the negotiation on the nature of the bonds people develop with it, and the overall induction to the debate around space are issues which can be embedded and adapted to the area of acoustic communication, as this research has shown. This is also one of the areas the evolution of Sound Studies takes advantage of so as to expand and continue generating related terms and theories. Accordingly, place attachment and space in a wider sense are proven to provide space for further investigations within the field of Sound Studies, allowing multi-levelled discussions to take place around this topic. In this respect, and beginning from the acoustic communication, this PhD thesis investigated how place attachment is modulated through the listening of soundmarks, after identifying them in the area of the borderline of the city centre of Nicosia, and extensively analysing their meaning according to the inhabitants' attitude towards them. After a detailed description and an in-depth exploration of the contemporary soundscape of the area of interest, the analysis of the way the inhabitants themselves give meaning to place through sound produced data confirming one of the objectives of this study; and, indeed, the question the scope of this research raised did characterise the entire procedure from beginning to end. From the process of designing the research plan to actually analysing the interviews and the sounds observed and noted during the soundwalks, the exploration of the way in which meaning is given to place remained a priority. The research combined the existing theoretical fields concerning soundscape, sound and space and the debate around the aspects which form the term 'place', keeping the human experience at the centre of the discussion. In this context, it managed to use ethnography in combination with the method of extensive listening in order to approach the sound environment of the area of interest and study its variations and actions taking place in relation to people's sonic experience, by responding to the research question. Both of these methods proved suitable for the generation of the

related discussion and results, and their combination generated information that was presented in the analysis. The conclusions are presented in this chapter.

Inhabitants of the area of interest were approached and interviewed about their attitude, feelings and emotions towards their place and their soundscape, being encouraged to extensively talk about the sound of the area. The exact parameters which define the relation between the acoustic community and the soundmarks as part of the soundscape were examined, considering the existence of characteristic sonic effects in the presence of the sounds.

## **6.2 Categorised Results**

Before presenting the main results which are generated by this thesis, it is considered useful to separately delve into each of the analysed categories and overview the different outcomes, in order to set a basis for the presentation of the results. The way the analysis was organised and carried out, prepared the ground for the extraction of the results and the relevant discussion by grouping them into the following main categories: the city centre, the acoustic image of the area, the acoustic community and the existence of a common soundmark within this community.

### **6.2.1 the place of the city centre**

The city centre of the capital of Cyprus which encapsulates both urban and rural characteristics, acquires an identity whose form is an amalgam of various elements of significance to the inhabitants' eyes and ears. For them, and for the ethnographer conducting the research in the area, too, the already rich in meanings and values ambience is enforced by the strong emotions connected with the great historical value of the city centre of Nicosia. Workers and/or residents of the area appear to develop strong bonds with their place, justifying them by enthusiastically narrating stories which had taken place there, or by praising its vital role in their everyday life. Apart from these residents, tourists and migrants appear to leave their mark on the place as well, and contribute to the composition of this mosaic of cultures, which primarily includes the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities. The traffic and the condition of the buildings are the main issues which seem to concern the two communities, while traffic issues in particular, including the lack of parking spaces and the motorbike noise, appear to be highly important for the inhabitants since they are the cause of several problems.

Using both the method of observation and interviewing, it was concluded that the city centre acquires characteristics of both a village/semi-rural area and a city/urban area. Whether this conclusion is reflected in people's impression, stories or descriptions about their place, or simply in the actual situation witnessed by the ethnographer, the city centre of Nicosia is an area that seems difficult to be exclusively characterised one way or another since, balancing between urban and rural elements, this area contains elements of both city and village life which, combined, compose its identity. With respect to the evolving sense of neighbourhood, it seems to be noticeably evident to the eyes and ears of the ethnographer, and, as stated and confirmed in the analysis, of the inhabitants as well. Also, the amount of general satisfaction from the area seems to be defined at two separate levels, according to the interviewees: they understand and feel the city centre's importance, and so they seem satisfied with living in such a historic and significant area, but they also seem unhappy with the State's lack of attention to it.

### **6.2.2 acoustic image of the place**

Regarding the sounds characterising the area and forming the acoustic image of the place, both the method of interviewing and observation facilitated the sounds' organisation and categorisation. Interviewees described traffic noise, machinery sounds, environmental and human sounds, animal sounds and music or music-related sounds, after being asked about the variety and nature of their sonic environment. The religious soundmarks, that is, the sound of the hodja's call to prayer and the church bells, were generally not the first sounds to be noticed or commented on, although they were intensely discussed.

A sound which was not reported during the interviews, but was, however, particularly noticed by the ethnographer, was the sound of small radio devices in certain spaces, declaring the human presence. This sound often resonates from the inner space of workplaces and forms a sound connection between the inner and the outer space of a place, at least during the island's long hot periods of heat on the island, when doors and windows are open.

As the character of the city centre balances somewhere between urban and rural, so do its sounds. As a matter of fact, instances of noise and silence whether observed by the researcher or described by the interviewees, were not only frequent, but also immediately following one another on certain occasions. An outcome generated from

this observation is that noise may instantly alternate silence in certain areas of the place, while other areas retain their sound character for the greater part of the day.

What often emerged regarding the area of interest is the image of a 'dead place', a character that seems to contribute to the construction of the acoustic image of the place. 'Ses' for the Turkish Cypriots or 'isihia' for the Greek Cypriots' symbolised something more than merely a sound description for the interviewees. Although 'ses' means sound and ambience, as explained, and 'isihia' means silence, it was observed that these words were used by the inhabitants to describe something important and deeper in their mind than mere soundwaves. Entirely connected to their emotions, as it appeared from the interviews, 'ses' and 'isihia' seem to enhance the description of the acoustic image in terms of something more global and connected to the everyday activities occurring at the place. The characterisation of a 'Dead Place' could be given to the area in question – a very recurring comment signifying not only the lack of sound but, also, a more general emotional attitude towards the environment. The absence of life, the lack of attention to the place by the authorities/municipality, desertion or abandonment were some of the expressions used during the discussion about sound. Indeed, these feelings seem to take shape in people's minds through the sound of the place, as such matters develop from the concept of the 'ses'/'isihia'. The supplementary maps in the Appendix show the representative results concerning the acoustic image of the city centre, as this was investigated during the research.

At the final stage of the description of this place's acoustic image, it is necessary to focus on the sound objects and the soundmarks which form a distinctive, major part of its soundscape, not only as important sounds worth preserving, but, also, as evolving key concepts of the theoretical approach applied in this research. By outlining the sounds of churches and mosques, the research was enabled to further investigate the relation the inhabitants develop with these sounds. Furthermore, the ability of the research to focus on their importance and actual meaning to the inhabitants and the place, as the theoretical background indicated, was crucial to the outcomes. It is known that soundmarks acquire an important role within the acoustic community, therefore the discussion around them evolved as above, after the analysis of the interviews.

### **6.2.3 An amalgamated, common acoustic community**

The findings pose a question about the initial definition of what a soundmark is, and, at the same time, the subjective importance of these sounds. The data obtained allows for the members of the ethnic communities inhabiting the area to be reflected upon the basis of a common soundscape, characterised by common soundmarks. Even in cases where these differ, such as religious ones, it was proven that they acquire common properties in the listeners' minds and the way they connect to the place. Thus, a single conceptual community in the area is outlined; a unique 'sound place' or one acoustic arena. Besides, the existence of a single 'acoustic community' requires the existence of a certain community or communities (Nagahata, 2000). When going beyond the categorisation dictated by ethnicity, this entire acoustic community within the area is portrayed by the main religious soundmarks, as a visitor in the area would notice, but also by other sound objects, outlined throughout the analysis.

One of the main issues investigated in the research was the community itself and its limitations, whether these are defined by the borders and in which sense the travelling sound would imply a unification and a common connection to the place, despite of the existence of roadblocks. To adequately describe the community, it was necessary to break down the meaning to its very vital defining elements: physical bonds were the ones presented in the respective chapter of the analysis, which provided the information that the inhabitants interviewed spend quite some time in the area. Not only this, but the religious soundmarks, on which the research focused, are all on physical-geographical positions allowing for the church bells and the hodja's call to prayer to be heard. Physical bonds show a sense of community: the time spent in the studied place reveals such information. With respect to the social bonds, the inhabitants appear to maintain a very good relationship with their area, adopting a sense of neighbourhood, even if in the relationships between them may involve socially negative actions happen (gossips / bad mood / informants). It is a fact that such behaviours are characteristic of small communities-neighbourhoods. Apart from this, the inhabitants described their social relationships and attitudes towards the migrants, tourists and visitors who form part of the place and the everyday social interactions. It appears that this behaviour in terms of sound offers a vital element to the acoustic community. The question is, how does this happen? The inhabitants describe the same qualities of sounds, share the same sonic experiences and talk about

the same soundmarks. The sound sources might have a constant sound source, like the church bell or the speaker of the mosque, or moving sources across the borders, like the case of the 'afka ofta' vendor. In any case, the inhabitants' references to such sounds and the way they describe them reveal a sense of community based on the area's sound objects.

It was shown that the amount and the nature of the physical and social bonds created through sound has generated useful data regarding the nature of the community living in the area. However, to adequately describe the acoustic community, an enhancement is needed:

The flexibility of the term community and the related terminology around soundmarks allowed the research to go beyond, and, consequently, consider the inhabitants as members of a single acoustic community, defined by its religious soundmarks.

The call to prayer is heard along the whole city centre of divided Nicosia, in the same way as the call to prayer. Paradoxically, many inhabitants of both parts give importance to describing the activity taking place at the time when the imam's prayer is heard. The same applies to the church bell sound. As shown, by hearing the morning church bells or the call to prayer, people recall everyday activities they have to do or realise what the exact time is. In this context, a symbol of faith and religion proves to function as the sound-reminder of an everyday activity, a clock of the acoustic community, regardless of the faith or the ethnic communities its members belong to. A similar case involving the call to prayer was also observed in the past: *'One of the inhabitants mentioned that "By this call I know what time of day we are" the repeated rhythm of the call works as an alarm indicating the time'* (Said, 2010, p. 7). However, the impressive realisation resulting from this thesis, is the fact that symbols and meanings are transformed into something else, something ordinary and common for two communities separated by territory boundaries, in a first stage.

On the other hand, the inhabitants seem to initiate peace discussions when asked about these sounds. Comments on either of the soundmarks, and, often, the first remarks on them, attempted to initiate a political discussion, and, noticeably, to mainly initiate a peace-related discussion.

#### **6.2.4 A common soundmark**

By extensively studying and analysing the religious soundmarks of the area, it was discovered that both the sound of the church bells and the hodja's call to prayer appear

to be rather disconnected from their initial purpose: the prayer itself and its sacred connotation seems to be of minor importance compared to the emotional connection with the sound itself or the ceremonies it leads to, as well as other sonic characteristics, such as musicality and loudness. Generating discussions around such features proved to divert from the connection with the act of praying, and focus on characteristics influencing the rhythm of everyday life.

However, an observer can definitely identify elements from the initial definition of the term soundmark in both of these cases; this feeling is enhanced whenever they happen to resonate at the exact same time, as described. According to the strict definition of the term, not only are these sounds of '*cultural and historical significance and merit preservation and protection*' (Truax, 1999), but they also appear to encourage the connection between the members of the acoustic community and the place. At the same time, it was revealed that only some of the residents asked in the area of interest notice the soundmarks in the way these are defined by Acoustic Ecology in the first place, while others regard traffic, humans or other sounds as characteristic and the first to notice in the area. Of course, a soundmark is not necessarily regarded by its community as such; its existence, however, seems to justify its significant role within it.

In this respect, the results of this research allow for the overall religious soundmarks of the area to be considered as one symbolic common soundmark which refers to the acoustic community: both the hodja's call to prayer and the church bells, along with other minor religious sounds noticed during the observation and named in the interviews, belong to a concept-driven model which consists of this unique religious soundmark defining the acoustic community. The analysis of the interviews confirms that this soundmark often disconnects from its initial meaning and transforms it into a trademark of the community, accommodating its everyday activities and forming part of its identity. At this point, Schein's opinion that '*since soundmarks usually gain status over years of listening, inhabitants understand these sounds to be a part of the community's identity*' is confirmed. Including this attitude to the entity of the sensory experience of being in place and being exposed to this soundmark, a significant characteristic of the acoustic community's nature now emerges.

In addition, as shown, the presence of this theorized common soundmark, instead of enhancing conflict, it functions within the particularity of the place encouraging the everyday bonding of the community and its connection to the place.

### **6.3 Results and Discussion**

A discussion regarding the outcomes emerging from the research should include the establishment of a tight connection of the findings of the presented analysis with the theoretical background, negotiating the connection of both theoretical elements and experiential data as they fit to the existing framework. In this process of presenting and interpreting the results, and before unfolding the issues to be discussed, it is essential to define the context within which such a discussion should take place. After analysing the interviews, and having taken the soundwalk and the observation conducted into account, the discussion is organised into four distinct thematic fields: the first one analyses the dynamics, both social and sound-related, which may develop in a place of significant importance, filled with social interactions, while identifying certain groups within the area of study. The second one discusses an approach towards the explored analysed properties of the place through sound, and intends to develop an inclusive term for such characteristics. Accordingly, the discussion proceeds by elaborating on place attachment and sound according to the way these terms were treated during the interviews and analysed throughout the research. The chapter sums up by evaluating the methods used.

#### **6.3.1 The dynamics of a significant social place**

The kind of place that was chosen for this study, is characterised by original social elements, which cannot be easily found in another city. Not only is this proven by the historical facts concerning the place, as expanded in the literature review, but also by all stages of the research: the divided European capital's city centre is a place of a unique social interaction and sound resonance, whose entirety appears to be beyond borders and border-crossing. While the soundscape analysis focused on the nature of sounds and developed ways to categorise and study them, the occurrence of the sonic experience in a unique space potentially creates other types of interaction. This is particularly relevant to the study of people's exposure to sounds related to an on-going conflict, as in this case.

To begin with, the kind of results which would promote further discussions, concerns individuals characterised by internal connections, developing common social characteristics which would produce similar behaviours. Such individuals assign meaning to a place through sound, expressing the same way of thinking, or, more

precisely, a similar way of listening. At this final stage, the research proceeds by pointing them out, outlining their common characteristics with references to the data presented in the analysis chapter. Before discussing these categories, it should be noted that their separation was facilitated not only by the content of the interviews, but also the interviewees' emotional response, expressed through both verbal and non-verbal communication when talking about the key issues defining every category of participants:

- An evident category is the one whose individuals recall the *sounds of the past* with content and claim feeling nostalgic towards some of them, such as the voices of certain street vendors or the sound of the animals which used to exist around the area. They show nostalgic sentiments towards these sounds when recalling them and would happily describe the presence of the sound of the last remaining street vendors or other sounds of their neighbourhood. They appear to be happy with the presence of the religious soundmarks and also pay special attention to the significance of the effect of travelling sound. The individuals comprising this category even use romantic characterisations to all these sounds and would like to preserve them. It is a fact that, in this case, an attachment to place is observed, as people express their love towards the place they inhabit and the historical significance of the area, too, which is often revealed through references to sound. It is worth mentioning that this category consists of mostly elder people.
- The creation of another category is encouraged, based on its members' common annoyance by the sound of the *migrants* living in their neighbourhood, be it directly the sounds of the 'other' language, the sound/voices of their children or babies, or the noises they make. The individuals of this category mention that the sounds of these foreign languages disturbs them because these languages are heard all day long on the streets, and they also find the sounds of the migrants' children to be disturbing because they destroy silence. Most importantly, loud TVs, hi-fi systems blasting music or other sounds coming from the inner space of the migrants' residences appear to be the sounds mainly disturbing them. Not only this, but they find the migrants' night activity annoying too, as for many, they are causing sound pollution due to shouting, breaking glasses or quarrelling. They appear to often refer to the politics of sound, meaning that they are eager to

directly discuss the political problem of Cyprus, or other political problems. This conflict-centered discussion could even promote forms of hate-speech towards minorities; however, no such attitude was demonstrated towards the opposite community in this case. It was observed that this category also consists of members aged 40 years and over.

- Annoyance towards various *traffic* sounds was often pointed out by certain inhabitants. As stated in the theoretical background, traffic sounds are often a source of disturbing noises, even if they concern places where the traffic is not so heavy. The members of this category are the people who claim being disturbed by car or truck sounds, regardless if the traffic in the area is light. People who claim having bad memories of being disturbed by the sound of motorbikes, can also be added to this group. As seen earlier, there have been references to memories of modified noisy exhausts, or simply complaints about the constant presence of cars. Individuals frustrated with the parking issues also belong to this category, as their listening experience is highly influenced by the presence of traffic.
- A category of participants expressing annoyance towards the sound of the *hodja's call to prayer* was also observed. They express their displeasure towards this sound either because of how and when it resonates – intensely and on scheduled intervals throughout the day, with the break of dawn call being the most annoying one for them – or because of its significance: Turkish Cypriots seemd to be annoyed by the volume of the sound, and Greek Cypriots seemed to be annoyed by the volume and/or the connotation of the religious sound of the other ethnic community. It is a fact that a few inhabitants of the southern part of the city cannot and/or do not want to disconnect this specific sound from the memory of the events of 1974.
- The emergence of a category forming a special relation with the *church bells*, considering them as something sacred and mysterious, is also characteristic. These individuals are usually Christians and claim to pay attention to the detail of this soundmark, but also to its related sounds, as, for example, the sound of the mass transmitted from the loudspeakers placed outside the churches. These people also give importance to the fact that the area is historically significant.

- If the research was to identify the differences between the two ethnic communities living in the *northern and southern* part of the city and, a priori, place them into groups based on their geographical division, this is where the greatest difference would come to light. It was observed that those participants who mostly mentioned the historical value of the city, either during the talk about sound or before/after it made its appearance, live or work in the northern area: most importantly, their reference to this matter was spontaneous during the first talks about the ambience, without having been prompted to do so. On the other hand, Greek Cypriots seem to have focused more on other primary topics, such as tourism or the sense of neighbourhood, aspects that are analysed below.
  - In the northern part of the city, people talk about tourism and complain about the lack of parking spaces. This could be justified considering the structure of this part of the city and its sprawl, which to an observer does not look organised. The concentration of tourists in an area which does not offer adequate infrastructure to receive them, combined with the cars passing from this area and the lack of parking spaces, is a source of concern for the inhabitants and also influences the way they listen to their environment.
  - On the other hand, in the southern part of the city people appear to talk more about noise and the topic of tourism is discussed to a limited extent. This could be explained by the fact that the structure of this area is clearer with respect to car policies: either cars are present and directed to parking spaces, or they are absent, as pedestrian zones are something common there. This fact influences the sound of their environment and the inhabitants shape their attitudes accordingly.

It is important to clarify that, as it could be perceived when reading the analysis, it is likely that an inhabitant of the city centre of Nicosia might present characteristics which would include him/her to more than one of these groups. Moreover, this kind of group division concerns the formation of the acoustic image of the city centre of Nicosia, as profiled in the respective chapter of the analysis.

The results presented in this section do not appear to influence the way people listen to their environment and give meaning to their place. The formation of various groups with different approaches towards their soundscape is evident, however, the results

allow for a discussion about a community which listens to its place similarly, regardless of its physical separation. The everyday problems and issues remain the same, regardless of the infrastructure and the way the city centre is organised. Everyday habits connected to sound demonstrate a unity and wholeness, based not only on the religious soundmarks, but also on the everyday sounds which are homogenous.

Having defined community, it seems from this discussion that its identity is mostly based on its interactions and interrelations which acquire a dynamic character, rather than predefined structures, as the sound maps would indicate. Delving into the inhabitants' everyday life and by discussing such matters with them, the sound of the area acquires multidimensional properties, which are differently interpreted by the aforementioned groups; however, these first constitute a strong identity of the acoustic community, and only secondly an ethnic and/or religious identity. In other words, this is a case where the appearance of a community with interweaved characteristics consisting of smaller groups/micro-communities is evident. Paradoxically, this unity does not seem to be conflict-centered, but, instead, their sound experience and the everyday life rhythm are the ones which best describe it.

### **6.3.2 Towards a definition of an 'Acoustic Place'?**

In the case examined, the idea that was introduced in the theoretical background that sound '*reaches across registers, moments and spaces, and it thinks across disciplines and traditions*' (Sterne, *The Sound Studies Reader*, 2012, p. 2) is confirmed. Already from the first chapter, the research discussed the boundaries of an acoustic space and their fluidity, by reviewing the relevant field focusing on the social and sound environment. Furthermore, it explored the way in which an acoustic community is defined within and by this space, place, and how dependant the one is from the other. Either way, it was shown that the acoustic space of an object is characterised by the audibility of this particular object within its space along with the resonance of the rest of the existing sound objects of the area, and refers to the exact acoustic community it defines. Space itself, on the other hand, acquires the properties of a place when people interact with it in any way. As far as place attachment is concerned, it was shown that physical and social bonding help the transition from the abstract term of space to the more specific and intimate sensuous place. What was investigated in the study, among

others, is the reaction of a person to a unique sound environment -the soundscape or the acoustic arena- where a listener is standing and exchanging sound information, having these bonds as a reference point. The physical bond with a place brings familiarity and habitual relation with the sounds of this environment, while social bonding provides recognisability and more cognitive procedures. As Vanclay noted, *'place is space that is special to someone. The personal meanings that turn space into 'place' become embedded in people's memories and in community stories'* (Vanclay, 2008, p. 11). These reflections were explored and seem to have pushed the place-related concepts around acoustic space towards a new definition. As an individual can develop familiarity and bonds with a space, giving meaning to it through one or more sounds, in the same way s/he could give a place a very specific, personal meaning, too. From the multiple elements which were investigated and presented in the analysis, it would be reasonable to initiate a discussion about the *'acoustic place'*. This discussion would be substantial especially in this case, where physical and social bonds appear to be intense. In any case, a new way of approaching and understanding the terms of place and acoustic space is being introduced in the contemporary era (Iscen, 2014).

The fact that a place is connected with the sound-related memories of its inhabitants enhances the term *'acoustic place'* even more, as the specific connections with the space are deep and sound-oriented, too. The way place attachment is formed through the soundmarks, as answered in this research, is shaped uniquely: the analysis of the characteristics of the place and the theoretical approach towards the acoustic space, lead to the consideration of the traced characteristics being unified, which enhances the *'acoustic place'* characterisation.

The examples of the conceptualised religious soundmark contributed to this result. Besides, in cases such as resonating religious rituals, which were proven to be attributed with an intense musical element, *'... participants "hear" the musical events with all five senses. It is this experience that gives places with recurring sonic events a perceived sense of identity in people's mind'* (Hung, 2009, p. 355).

It is not just the soundmarks which define the acoustic community, but also other sound objects, too. The reviewed categories facilitate the discussion about the acoustic place of the area. Sound events, as described and demonstrated on the maps,

were found to be important by the inhabitants for the place, either as characterising the present or as being recalled and connected through their memories.

As already reviewed, everyday activities take place within the boundaries of constantly growing social spaces, a process that seems to stretch the boundaries of community, possibly to a breaking point (Day, 2006, p. 13). In these cases, as Day would say, what could possibly bring the acoustic community bounds to a breaking point would include the disturbing sounds of the city - like the machinery and the sound of cars, in a soundscape approach. What would be worse though, is a cultivated negative attitude towards the soundmarks crossing the borders/sounds that are politically charged and related to the border activities, which would question, as they still do today the nature of the acoustic community. Such a nature though can be enhanced by sounds other than the aforementioned. For example, music which resonates in a place and comes from street musicians or the speakers of local stores or coffee shops in a neighbourhood are able to facilitate a sense of belonging to a community (Smith C. , 1993).

Therefore, an evolving characterisation of a place as 'acoustic' forms a mechanism which appears ready to be integrated in the current theoretical body of knowledge around sound and place. In consistency with the current theories examined in the first chapter, this research explored the bonds which can characterise a place as such, attributing meanings to it. The conditions under which the research was implemented were helpful to reach such a conclusion, as the particularity of the place alone included multidimensional meanings.

Both everyday sounds and the soundmarks – either separately or as a conceptualised single entity - have lead the discussion to make the connection with the place. How would place attachment relate to sound after such a discussion around the amalgamated acoustic community and the 'acoustic place'?

### **6.3.3 Place attachment and sound**

New insights are given in this case, since sound already appears to play an important role in everyday life and the nature of the inhabitants' attachment to place. In the theoretical background, it was underlined that sound plays an important role in the construction of place, as it forms part of its identity. Any further discussions should at

this point focus on the soundmarks which were found to be important by the participants, and well as the other sound objects which were distinctive in the area. Soundmarks, as seen through the lens of Acoustic Communication, are not the only sounds defining a place to the ears and minds of its inhabitants. More sounds, which would not be characterised in the same way, appear to amplify the place attachment of the inhabitants. At this point, it might be crucial to ask whether these sounds can be regarded as secondary soundmarks or as an evolution of the definition of the term soundmark. However, an unquestionable finding is the fact that certain sound objects, when listened and understood by an acoustic community, may shape the place themselves, and, consequently, the attachment to it. Therefore, the connection with the place can be described not only by the important religious soundmarks, but also by the sound of an every-day street vendor, or an old radio device blasting music.

#### **6.3.4 An evolving methodological tool**

The research has demonstrated a way of investigating soundscape using the empirical tool of soundwalk in an enhanced way. The combination of observation and soundwalking facilitated a deep knowledge and understanding of both the sound details and the acoustic ambience of the area. By analysing one's self observation and, particularly, through soundwalking, elements which can prove of great use emerge. In the case of this PhD research, the data resulting from the soundwalk facilitated the drafting of the interview guide, but also assisted the researcher's involvement in the interviewing by being already familiarising him with the sounds discussed. In this case, it would be safe to talk about an 'acoustic participant observation' tool, which uses elements to gather data by careful listening and observing.

Taking Tixier's methodological proposal to a next level (Tixier, 2002), it was proven that the followed form of soundwalking combined with the specific kind of in-depth interviewing used lead towards a process of establishing a new ethnographic methodological tool. This particular form of soundwalking generated maps and data which qualitatively describe the soundscape of the area and prove to be a successful subjective qualitative tool of exploring a soundscape in a manner which is experience-oriented. Consequently, this tool fits the current body of comprehension of the field and, under certain conditions, it can be creatively used for further sound research.

## 7 Conclusions

The way this PhD research elaborated the topics in question, confirmed the common knowledge that place attachment is enhanced by sound. However, an extension of this piece of knowledge was gradually constructed: the particular approach applied acquires an intense research scope to certain places with particular properties, and for a sound-centered defined space to be characterised as an "Acoustic Place": in other words, the acoustic place is a physical space yet with fluid boundaries, which is characterised by the presence of soundmarks and sound objects, while, at the same time, the conditions describing a place within it can be defined by examining the people inhabiting it and, more specifically, the strong social and physical bonds of its community. This conclusion expands the meanings of soundmark and place, as it combines the properties of both terms magnify the dynamics which are developed in such acoustic environments.

The present PhD research also showed that sounds can influence and particularly enhance the bonds of the inhabitants with and within a place. Having studied the relationship between the inhabitants and their sonic environment, the analysis and discussion demonstrated that, according to the way they talked about them, their experiences and their memories, certain interrelations can develop on the basis of the aural experience within an acoustic place. Furthermore, in such conditions a sound object can define a place differently than a soundmark. In fact, the approach adopted in this study seemed to directly question the definition of the term soundmark and its targeted importance, suggesting extensions to it. What Acoustic Ecology defines can be enhanced by sonic elements perceived differently by the listeners, and, finally, direct the definition to wider concepts or refer to the sonic elements in other, complex ways.

Advancing to the terminology of acoustic community, the present PhD research concluded that such a group can demonstrate strong bonds over sound as a whole, overcoming the factor of ethnicity and, at the same time, undermining physical borders. It has conclusively regarded the 'acoustic community' as a group of people not strictly defined by very particular sounds or territorial borders. On the contrary, the members of this acoustic community seem to define themselves accordingly on their own, questioning the way communities are constructed. Moreover, the way place attachment is expressed in each place raises awareness over how other cultural

characteristics relate sonically with everyday activities and disregard barriers and limitations set by the centres of power. In other words, everyday sound has demonstrated its ability to greatly define relations with a place that were meant to be perceived differently. At this point, an unfamiliar form of power of sound comes to light, which confirms its ability to define a place and further elevates the importance of the everyday acoustic environment.

In conclusion, the study has shown the power of the sounds of Nicosia in relation with their inhabitants and has indicated their importance on various levels always in relation to this specific divided place. Nevertheless, it has demonstrated the power of the community itself over everyday life through sounds, and the ability of sound to overcome not only borders, but also structures of power, such as the ethnic one. In a wider scope, what has been exposed in this study is the overwhelming power of everyday sound in people's lives, and its ability to form traceable dynamics and define an intense, wide-ranging acoustic experience. Apart from such a power itself, this thesis has not only given prominence to the ambiguity of a soundmark, but it has also featured this specific property to everyday sound. By comparing and delving into the meaning people give to sounds, their importance has been raised. Having understood the particularity of the case study through the research, a specific sound has been proven to 'divide and unite' at the same time. The area inhabitants connect to it in various ways which are primarily characterised by the strong bonds with their place - whichever this nature might be. Overall, the representation of sound creates the respective ambivalent dynamics to the Other, in the context of the city centre of Nicosia. The PhD thesis intended to demonstrate the connection to place through sound and the everyday life, rather than the representation of the sounds and the experiences of the inhabitants. In addition, the radical aspect of conflict, in parallel with the brotherhood and neighborhood were matters which evolved in the thesis, and appeared to have created collective memories and representations.

### **7.1 Suggestions for future Research**

Evolving challenges for further research are prominent, as the conclusion on a unique and whole dynamic acoustic community in a physically divided place allows for it to be characterised as an 'acoustic place'. This fact releases concepts and variables included in the term 'place', such as time and human bonds, which, when combined

with sound, can potentially create new areas of research. In this context, quantitative data would generate numerical data to describe the area as such: the range of the religious soundmarks, the frequency in which certain sonic events occur, or the loudness measured in decibels would produce such data. In such a case, and in relation to the place attachment one feels to an area where the aural experience is intense, more maps could be produced in an array of emotional mapping, pointing out the feelings and bonds among the members of this community, including, also, the numerical data which could potentially result. Considering that Sound Studies is a multidisciplinary academic field, such combinations of methods could work simultaneously.

Apart from additional numerical analyses, it would be worth to see how a similar research would be applied to an acoustic community living in a similarly sounding place. Such a case would refer to an area where the church bells and the hodja's call to prayer would be audible, without, however, it being divided along the two sides of a military-controlled zone. Many areas, for instance Istanbul or Cairo, where churches and mosques co-exist would provide the ground for such a further research. In places like these, a research could be conducted over the way in which the acoustic communities are defined by such sounds: differences and similarities with this PhD study would be explored, mainly in relation to the existence of the borders.

Also, it was shown that, although forming part of the everyday life, the separating Buffer Zone itself does not necessarily divide the acoustic experience of the people around it. Instead, it creates groups which are exposed to a similar experience, regardless of the fact that they live separated by a silent deserted zone. The dynamics of each of these groups can potentially be explored in relation to their jobs, political attitudes or other socio-economic factors, which would allow for a more political approach rather than a sound-oriented one, like the present PhD research. As indicated in the analysis, the listening experience varies according to the socio-cultural background of the listener, and, mainly, the physical and social bonds s/he has developed with the community. Initial grouping and further separate researching on such groups and, in particular, on their listening experience of the same soundmarks would help lead the research to identifying similarities and differences according to each group's background.

Taking the methodological tools used in this research a step further, combinations could generate other types of data regarding the analysed religious soundmarks and

place attachment. Commented soundwalks, as Tixier proposed, or listening tests, for example, could have been used to gather other kinds of data on these sounds.

Finally, a semiotic analysis of the way of transmitting the call to prayer, through the loudspeakers, either by the church or by the mosque, could be an option for future research, in relation to the contemporary significations and meanings of such resonances.

Above all, the subject explored in this PhD thesis provided useful outcomes regarding the connection between sound and place attachment. Nevertheless, it intended to create and offer space for new academic research in the field of Sound Studies.

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## APPENDIX

### 1. Pilot Questionnaire

*Age, Gender, Ethnicity, Education.*

*For how long you 've been here?*

*Hours/Day in the area?*

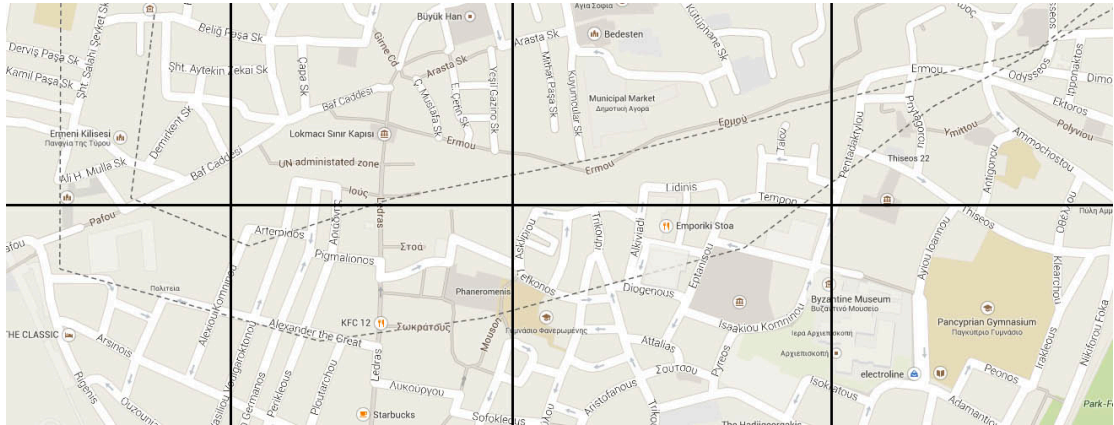
*Describe the area we are talking about. – How do you feel about the neighbourhood?*

*Describe the ambience. Do you like it? What would you change?*

*Describe the sounds you listen every time you are here. How do you feel about them?*

*Which sounds do you prefer? Which sounds don't you like?*

## 2. Map of the Area



### 3. Interview Guide

	Number	Area
Age	___	___
Gender	___	
Ethnicity	___	
Education	___	

b.1 For how long have you been here? How many hours per day do you spend in the area? How do you spend your time during these hours? Describe the area. How do you feel about it?

Describe the ambience. Do you like it? What would you change?

Describe the sounds (in general) you listen when you are here. How do you feel about them?

Which sounds do you prefer? Which sounds don't you like?

a.2 *What is your (or your community's) most meaningful/characteristic sound (environment)?*

a.3 *Why is it important and where can it be found?'*

a.4 How do you feel towards the sound of the imam? towards the church bell?

b.2 How would you describe your relationship with the community here? How do you feel among your neighbours?

c. Can you describe the following towards the sounds we have talked about?

c.1 Do sounds remind you of anything? anamnesis

c.2 Do sounds make you remember anything intensively? synecdoche

c.3 repetition (observation)

c.4 cut-out (observation)

c.5 mask (observation)

c.6 reverberation (observation)

*'What is your (or your community's) most meaningful sound (environment)? Why is it important and where can it be found?'*

Sound Memories

+elaborate

Favorite Sounds

+elaborate

Places of Sounds

+elaborate

## **4. The Coding Frame**

### ***a. Inhabitants & Soundmarks***

1. which are the soundmarks of the area (Data Driven Coding - observation/soundwalking)
2. whether they notice the soundmarks in the first place, as they are defined by acoustic ecology
  - notice
  - no notice
  - unclear
3. what is their attitude towards the soundmarks that they define,
  - positive
  - negative
  - unclear
4. what is their attitude towards the cultural soundmarks
  - positive
  - negative
  - unclear

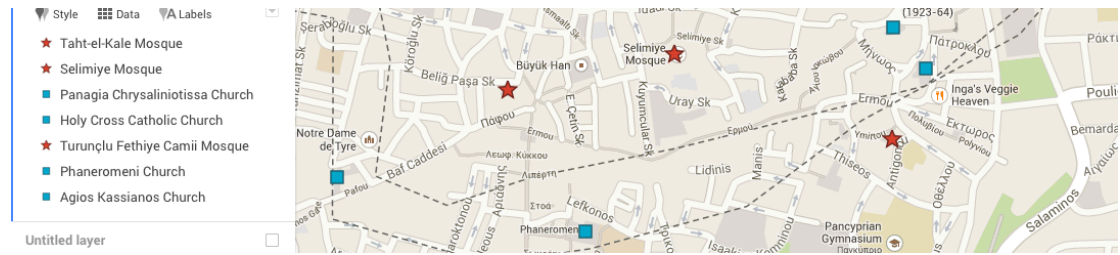
### ***b. Place Attachment***

1. how the physical bonds with the acoustic community are described
  - strong
  - weak
2. how are the social bonds with the acoustic community described
  - strong
  - weak

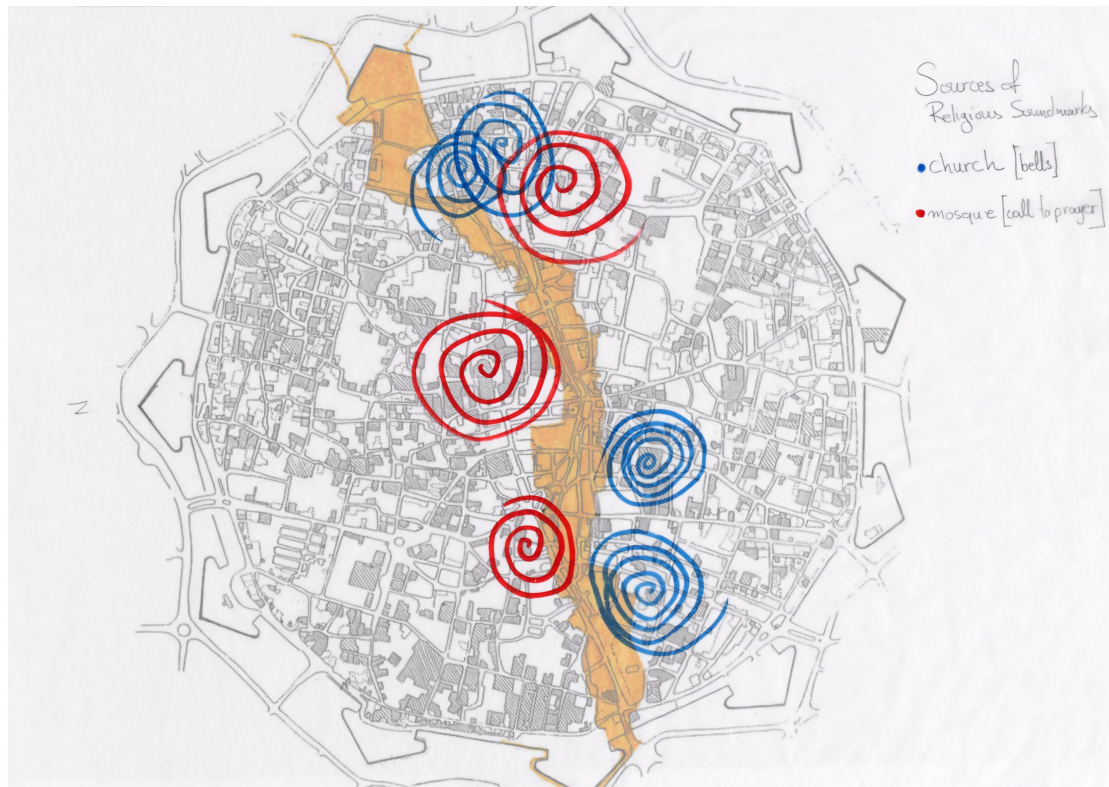
### ***c. Sonic Effects***

how does the presence of sonic effects influence the quality of the soundscape?

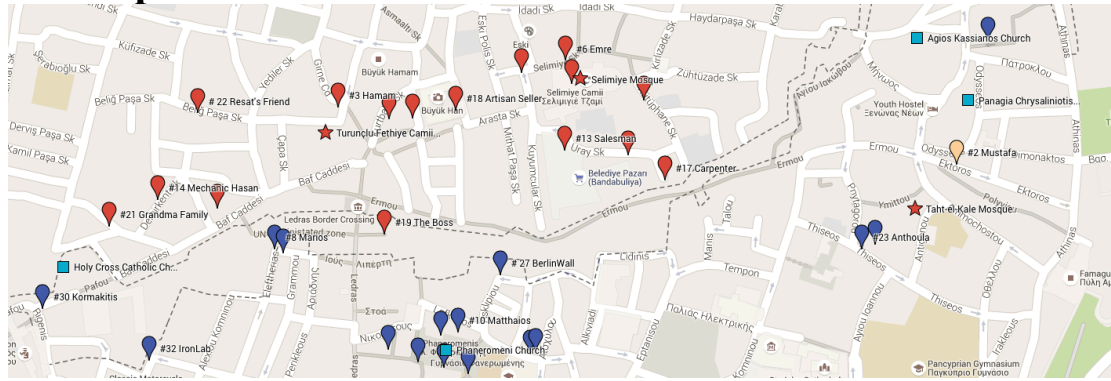
## 5.1 The positions of the temples in the city centre



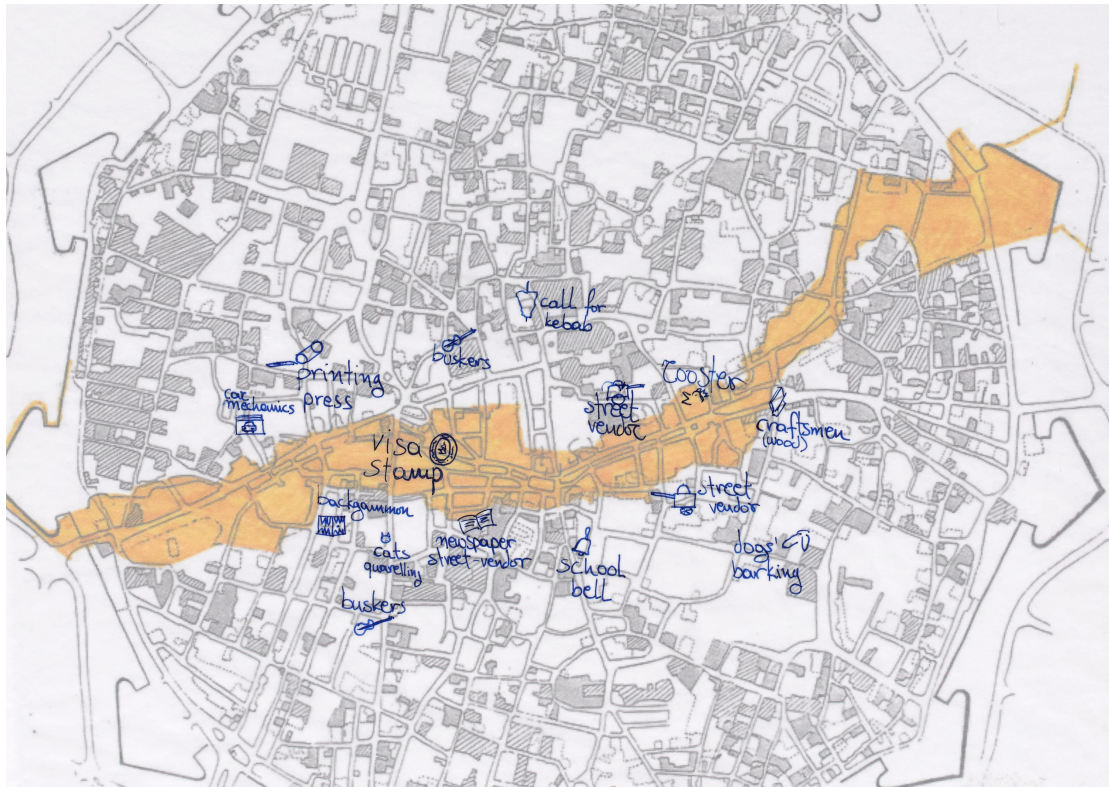
## 5.2 The position of the temples in the city centre of Nicosia and their resonance



## 6. The positions of the listeners related to the position of the temples



## 7. Sound signals



## 8. Dominant sounds in the area



## 9. Demographic Data of the Participants (table)

	Nationality/Age/Sex	Education	time in the area	time spent in the area	Resident/Worker/Passer
# 01	GC/33/M	University	4 years	6-10 hours/day	R
# 02	EG/34/M	University	7 years	10-15 hours/day	R
# 03	TC/76/M	School	30 years	15 hours/day	W/R
# 04	GC/68/M	School	5 years	5-6 hours/day	P
# 05	TC/54/M	High School	21 years	8 hours/day	W
# 06	T/28/M	University	10 years	2 a week	P
# 07	GC/76/M	School	61 years	8 hours/day	W
# 08	GC/19/M	School	90 days	24 hours/day	R
# 09	GC/65/M	Elementary School	38 years	6 hours/day	W
# 10	GC/63/M	Elementary School	54 years	24 hours/day	W/R
# 11	T/37/M	no data	no data	no data	W
# 12	TC/58/M	no data	40 years	4-6h/day	W
# 13	T/28/M	primary school	2 years	5h/day	W
# 14	T/55/M	no data	28 years	12 hours	W
# 15	TC/63/F	College Degree	6 years	1-2h/day	P
# 16	TC/80/M	College Degree	-	comes occasionally	P
# 17	TC/36/M	no data	8 years	8-9h/day	W
# 18	TC/37/F	High School	1 year	5-7h/day	W
# 19	T/57/M	Primary School	32 years	9h/day	W
# 20	TC/45/M	Master's Degree	6 years	10h/day	W
# 21	T/55/F	Primary School	20 years	24h/day	R
# 22	T/30/M	University	4 years	no data	R
# 23	GC/53/F	College Degree	53 years	14h/day	R
# 24	GC/30/F	University Degree	1 year	14h/day	R
# 25	GC/40/M	University Degree	no data	no data	W
# 26	TC/37/M	High School	30 years	10-12h/day	W
# 27	GC/55/M	High School	30 years	10-12h/day	W
# 28	GC/33/M	High School	30 years	10-12h/day	W
# 29	GC/78	High School	64 years	10-12h/day	W
# 30	GC/68	High School	30 years	10-12h/day	W
# 31	G/34	University	30 years	10-12h/day	W
# 32	GC/75	Primary	40 years	8h/day	W
# 33	GC/75	no data	no data	24 hours/day	R